

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Government
OF THE
CHURCH,

As it was in
GREAT-BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND,

When they first received the
Christian Religion.

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The Third Edition.

LONDON,

Printed for Ch. Brome, at the Gun, at the
West-End of St. Paul's Church, 1703.

HISTORY

GOVERNMENT

CHURCH

EXPERIMENT

TEST AND

Christian Religion

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LONDON

PREFACE.

AMONG all the Arguments that have been used of late times against Episcopal Government, there is none that hath made more noise in the World, or that hath given more colour to the Cause of our Adversaries, than that which they have drawn from the Example of the ancient *Scotish* Church. And indeed it would be of very great force, if they could prove what they say; that in the second Century, or beginning of the third, there was a Church formed without Bishops, and that it continued so for some hundreds of years. There may be some farther improvement of this, by suggesting that at last, when the Government changed, it was by the means of one *Palladius*, who was the first that brought Episco-

The Occasion of
the following
Book.

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pacy into that Nation. For this *Palladius*, having had his Ordination at *Rome*; the very mention of this may make it seem as if he brought in Popery with it. And perhaps our Adversaries would be willing to have it believed that he did so: though none of them have thought fit to say this in plain terms, for fear of giving Advantage to the Papists; who would be very glad to have it granted that Popery was so ancient as to come within four hundred years after *Christ's* Ascension into Heaven. But that the Church of *Scotland* was so early, and so long, without Bishops is a thing that seems to have pass'd without dispute; being acknowledged, as it were with one consent, by all the now extant *Scotish* Historians.

Spotswood's
Church-history.

How far their Authority hath gone in that Nation, we may judge, by what we see in Archbishop *Spotswood's* Church-history. We cannot have the least doubt of the judgment of that most worthy and reverend Prelate, since he hath so fully declared it in the solemnest Act of his life: It is

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is in his last Will and Testament that he gives this account of himself to Posterity; *As touching the Government of the Church, I am verily persuaded that the Government Episcopal is the onely right and Apostolical Form.* And yet, in the Book above-mentioned, he doth unawares (as far as I can judge) yield that which affords to our Adversaries a great Presumption against Episcopal Government. I say he doeth this unawares; for it is plain that he designed to write a History, onely of such things as had past since the Reformation. He did not trouble his head to search into the Original of the *Scotish Church*: but as to that, he contented himself to deliver those things which were *the Opinion most commonly received.* And yet, in following *the received Opinion*, he must needs bar himself from any way to answer the before-mentioned Argument against Episcopacy. For the same Authority that there is for the being of a Church there in *Scotland* from King *Donald's* Time; (that is, from the year 203, as he places it;) the same

See the Author's Life, before his History.

See his Epistle Dedicatory.

Spotswood's Hist. P. 4.

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Ibid. p. 7.

Authority there is for a Church that was governed so many Ages together by Monks and Presbyters without Bishops. This he found when he came to that part of his History, where his Authours lay it before him in the Terms that I have written. And therefore he makes them such an Answer as I do not think it worth the while to repeat. Howsoever he might satisfy himself with it; I do not doubt but his Presbyterian Countreymen look'd upon it as a very unsufficient Answer, and amounting to little less than a Confession, that their Church was first planted, and so long continued, without Bishops. In consequence whereof, they might reasonably conclude, that when they covenanted against Episcopacy they had onely used their own right; and thrown out that which was a confessed Innovation, in order to the restoring of that which was their Primitive Government.

I would to God we had not so much cause to remember how that Example was followed in this Kingdom. They that were for destroying
Episco-

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Episcopacy here, as they had the *Scotish* Reformation for their Pattern, so they alledged the *Scotish* Tradition for the justifying of it. In that laborious Collection of *Blondell's*, (which was made for *Blondelli Apol. pro Hieron.* the service of our Presbyterians,) *p. 314, 366, 375.* he, with all his vast reading, could not find one undoubted Example of a Church of their way in ancient Times, but onely that of the *Scots*. But to make the most of that, he vouches it as a thing out of controverſie; and tells his Readers how early it began; before Pope *Victor's* *Ibid. p. 314.* death, which was (as he tells us) in the year 197. *July 28.* And yet, as to the use that he makes of this Note; namely, to shew the Antiquity of a Church-Government by Presbyters; he very well knew that he had no Authour for it, that lived within a thousand years of that time. He was so wise as not to set down the year and day when any of them died whom he quotes for this matter; though he constantly doeth it, as oft as he can hope that that punctual notation of time will make his Authour appear to be of
so

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so much the more Credit. Nay, he doeth it oftentimes, with no other design, that appears, but for mere ostentation of his skill in Chronology : which, rather than hurt his Cause with it, he thought better to spare on this occasion.

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this Preface.

But to shew how little reason our Adversaries have to boast of this Instance of a Church without Episcopal Government, it will be necessary for me to shew how little credit there is to be given to those Writers upon whose Authority it is that they assert this. They seem indeed to make a great Muster of Witnesses, when they say they have all the *Scotish* Historians to prove it : and some of them speak as if the Faith of the Nation must needs be ingaged for the Credit of those Historians.

But for the number of Witnesses, I think that is not much to be considered, when they come (as these do) all in File, one after another ; so that all their strength is resolved into the Credit of one Authour ; and what he was I shall consider in due time.

For

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For the Nations concernment on the account of their Historians, I know no such necessity of That, as our Adversaries seem to suppose. The Historian obliges the Nation whose History he writes, as the Painter does the Person whose Picture he draws; just as far as he does his work true, and no farther. If he gives them those Ornaments which are not their own, he wrongs them; and gives others occasion to think there was need of it to cover some deformity or other. The *Scotish* Nation have needed no such helps at any time since the Histories we speak of were written. They have excelled most other Nations in Arts and Arms; And especially in the purity of Religion; abating onely for that blemish which hath been contracted chiefly by their giving too easie a belief to those Fictions which I am now about to disprove.

But besides, it ought to be considered in this Case, and I desire that it may be remembered all along in my Preface, that what I write is onely concerning their Antiquities.

No Records of
the Antiquities
of these Nations.

I do

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I do not question the truth of any thing that is said to have been done within these eight hundred years: Nay, within 1400. by their telling, who make their planting here before *Christ's* Incarnation, and their Conversion about two hundred years after it. Now it were very strange if any Nation in our part of *Europe* should think themselves obliged to stand by their Historians in what they write, of things before, or so soon after, *Christ's* Incarnation. In those early Times (as all Learned Men know) they had no Letters, but what they borrowed from the *Greeks* or the *Romans*. And especially in *Scotland*, if there were any Christians so early, as some would conclude from those words of *Tertullian*, where he saith, that *those British Nations that could not be subdued by the Romans, yet willingly yielded their necks to the yoke of Christ*; (I say, if those words do import that there were Christians in *Scotland* at that time,) yet they must be allowed to be of the number of those, who, as *Irenæus* saith of many of the Barbarous Nations, held

*Tertul. Cont.
Jud. c. 7.*

Iren. de Hær. 3,4.

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held the Faith by Tradition, without the help of Paper and Ink; meaning, as he explains himself, that for want of Letters they could have no use of the Scriptures.

We have much reason to doubt whether those unlettered Nations had any desire to convey any knowledge of themselves to Posterity. But if they had the will, they wanted the means to do it; and therefore we cannot wonder that we know so little of them or their condition, either in, or before the *Roman* Times. But what shall we say of those Nations that were Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, and therefore wanted not means to convey what they would to Posterity? Had they any care to preserve their Antiquities, and to deliver over to their Children in writing what they had received by Tradition from their forefathers? We find little sign of it in most of these Nations: so little especially in our Island, that we are to thank Strangers for any thing that we know of our People and Religion, or of our Island in the ancientest Times.

To

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Of the French
and Spanish.

To begin where I have reason to believe least exception will be taken ; what have they to say in *France*, or in *Spain*, of the ancient Inhabitants of those Countries, before they came to be under the *Romans* ? Or what account can they give of themselves, how they came first to be Christians ? They have nothing of those Times, but what ignorant men have devised, and what the learned are now ashamed to say after them.

Of the British
Historians.

In that Nation for which I am chiefly concerned, I know no learned man but will freely acknowledge this, and will think it no blemish to the honour of our Country.

Gildas.

We had indeed one Writer, that lived, though not under the *Roman* Empire, yet very soon after it ; namely *Gildas* ; from whom, if from any in that Age, there might have been expected an History of his Country. But he freely acknowledges that we had no Writer to furnish him with materials for a just History : and that, for the writing of that little Summary that he

De excidio Brit.
C. I.

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he gives us, he was fain to borrow what he had from them beyond the Seas.

Within 300 years after him, we had another, called *Nennius*, that, *Nennius.*

(as himself tells us) was employed to write a History of our Nation.

It was indeed at a time when Learning ran very low in this Island, as

we may judge by the Preface of King *Alfred's* Saxon Translation of

Gregory's Pastoral; which I mention the rather for the credit of

this Writer, and of them that set him on work. No doubt they

chose the ablest man that they knew, and he wanted not a good-

will to have written a History. But he also confessed that he had not

wherewith to perform it; and that the poor Fragments that he put to-

gether, were little else than what he was fain to borrow from other

neighbouring Nations.

In this want that we have of any ancient Historian, but such as these,

that acknowledged they knew no other before them; how come we

to have the knowledge of Persons and Things which these good men

seem

In Prefat. & in Apologia.

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seem to have never heard of ?
Whence have we that punctual account of so many particulars that pass'd at the first and second planting of this Island ? Whence have we that Succession of Kings from *Brutus* downward ; with notation of Time and Place, and other circumstances, more minute than could be conveyed without writing ?

Jeffrey of Monmouth.

All these things we owe to the invention of one that lived in very dark Times : and then, knowing that whatsoever he should say of this kind, there was none that was able to disprove him, took the liberty to devise what he pleased, and set it forth as undoubted true History. Indeed I must doe him the right to acknowledge that the Mother Lye of all in his Book, I mean that of *Brutus*, was not wholly of *Jeffrey's* devising. He might have had the ground of it from others, and particularly from *Merlin* or *Talieffin* ; for there is something of our coming from *Troy* in old Verses that go under their names : But because it is so little that they say, and the Authority of

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of that is not certain, I rather believe he had it from *Nennius* before-mentioned.

Where *Nennius* undertakes to *Nennius, c. 2.* give account of the Original of the *Britans*; he tells us, that there were two accounts of it then in the World.

One of them was that which (as *Ibid. c. 13. Et* he tells us) *he found by Tradition of Traditione veterum, qui incolae fuerunt in primis Britanniae temporibus.* the Ancients that were the first Inhabitants of Britain; Namely, that they were so called from one *Britto*, that was the Son of *Hysichion*, the Son of *Alanus*, of the Progeny of *Japhet*. Which *Alanus*, by his telling, peopled all this part of *Europe*. For from him, by one Son came *Francus, Romanus, Alemannus* and *Britto*; by another came *Gothus, Walagothus, Gepidus, Burgundus* and *Longobardus*; by a third came *Wandalus, Saxo, Bognardus* and *Turingus*. The meaning of all this is very plain; not that any single Persons called by these Names, but that all these Nations, were descended from *Japhet*, and were all first called by the general name of *Alani*: which may have some

(a)

truth

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truth in it for ought I know ; but howsoever, it is observable that this was the most ancient Tradition that he found among the *Britans* in his Age.

*Nennius, c. 3. In
Annalibus Ro-
manorum sic
Scriptum est.*

His other account of our Original, was, that we came from one *Brutus* a Roman Consul : and to make out this Extraction, he tells us, it is written in the *Annals of the Romans* that *Æneas* came with his Son *Ascanius* into *Italy*, and that there he begat *Sylvius*, who had a Son called *Brutus*, that came hither and gave the name to this Island. So that plainly this Butterfly was not bred in our Countrey, but flew hither out of *Italy* : where he that will know more of it must look into the *Annals of the Romans*. I am afraid that some of them that came hither from *Rome* in the *Saxon* Times plaid pranks with us, and abused the simplicity of our Ancestours, in this, as they did in other things.

But howsoever this Story came into the World, it was enough for our *Jeffrey* that he found it in *Nennius's* Book : (For it is *Nennius* whom

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whom he usually quotes by the name of *Gildas* ; and his Book is all that I can find he had to shew for his *British History*.) It was a Story so agreeable to the humour of that Age, that a soberer man than he was could not forbear to recommend himself with it. In his Age it was come to be a very modish thing for Writers to derive their Nations from the *Trojans*. There is more than one Instance of this in *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon's History*. He tells us, that when King *Henry I.* (who was not called *Beauclerk* for nothing) inquired into the Originals of the *French Nation* ; one of their Learned Men told him, that *as most other Nations of Europe, so the French, were descended from the Trojans* : and thereupon shewed how their Ancestours came from *Troy* with *Antenor*, &c. This hapned in the year 1128. as the Archdeacon there shews. And he tells this without any censure, but rather, as it seems, with approbation. For in that part of his *History* which he was then writing, and which ends within seven years

*Henry Hist. l. 7.
p. 219. b. 13.*

*Ibid. l. 12.
p. 171. b.*

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after that time, he likewise begins his work with that account of our Original from the *Trojans*. It was very soon after this, that our *Jeffrey* Archdeacon of *Monmouth* writ his History of the *British* Kings. For, in his Preface before it, he mentions the death of King *Henry I.* with which *Huntington* ends that part of his History: and he dedicates his Book to *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, Son of *Henry I.* who died within eleven years after him. It is plain that both these Historians had that Book of *Nennius* before them; where they could not but see the *Two* accounts that he gives of our Original. But, as it they had winked upon one another, neither of them takes notice of that which was properly the *British* Tradition; but they were both alike for the *Romancing* account, of our being descended from the *Trojans*. Onely *Henry* of *Huntington*, more like an Historian, delivers that part as he found it in his Authour; but *Jeffrey*, taking that onely for a ground, runs division upon it, sports himself with his fancy, and says

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says any thing that came in his head.

When *Jeffrey's* Book came abroad into the World, it was presently look'd upon as a new light in History. All the Writers of that Age did, as it were, run to light their Candles at it : and their haste to get before one another was so great, that it hath given occasion to Us that live at this distance, to doubt whether some of them did not write before *Jeffrey* himself. Among these, I do not reckon the old English Poem that *Wheelock* In *Bede* Hist. quotes in his Notes upon *Bede* : P. 25.

For, though it has the Language of *Jeffrey's* Age, yet perhaps it might be something older, for it is writ in the old *Saxon* Character ; but there is nothing in that Poem which might not have been taken immediately out of *Nennius* his History. But those which are said to have written before *Jeffrey*, and yet have many of those things that are taxed in his Book, are chiefly *Sigebert* of *Gembleurs*, and *Alfred* of *Beverley*. For the latter of the two, though some would have it that he died be-

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Bal. Script.
Angl. 11. 74.
Pis. an. 1136.
Alfred. Beverl.
Deflorationes
Galfredi.

fore *Jeffrey* writ; yet their Authours, *Bale* and *Pits*, have enough to shew the contrary; for in their Catalogues of *Alfred's* Works they name his *Extracts out of Jeffrey*, and it is the first Book that they mention of his writing. The great doubt is concerning *Sigebert*; for he certainly died in the year 1113, which was above twenty years before *Jeffrey* writ. It cannot be denied that the Contents of his History are summed up in the Preface that goes before *Sigebert*, and are afterward distributed in his Chronicle. But how did these things get into *Sigebert*? For it is certain they are none of that Authour's. There are no such things in that Edition of his Work, which was made from the Original Copy in his Monastery. They must have been put in by some other, after *Sigebert's* death. And from whence, but out of *Jeffrey's* History?

Edit. per Mirandum, an. 1608.

Usser. de primord. p. 201.

It is plainly affirmed by the most Learned Primate, that always knew what he said, but did not always tell his Reader so, as he doth in this Case; *We know that many things*
out

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out of Jeffrey are thrust into Sigebert. But not to leave this upon any one's Credit, the Reader may know it himself, if he please, by comparing together the two Books of which we speak. Whence did Sigebert learn that *Brutus built the City of Tours in France*, and that, *as Homer witnesseth*? Who taught him to say that *Brutus found four Generations of Trojans with Corineus*? Or to speak of *Hengist's building a Promontory in Kent*? And of *the Saxons destroying all the Promontories from Scotland to York*? All these are Jeffrey's own Words, as well as his Materials; howsoever they hapned to come into Sigebert's Preface and Chronicle. But not to hold the Reader in doubt any longer; he that put these fine things into Sigebert, is so honest as to tell where he had them. He saith, he had them out of *the History of the Britans*: and to shew what History he meant, he saith it was *lately translated out of British into Latin*. How lately? It was not done while Sigebert was living; if this was our *British History*, now extant: and

(a 4)

yet

The Preface before Sigebert's Chron. from Galsfr. Mon. fol. VIII. b.

Ibid. from Galsfr. fol. VII. Sigeb. Chron. anno 434. from Galsfr. f. XLVII. Et Chron. anno 457. from Galsfr. fo. LXV. b.

Sigeb. Chron. anno 470.

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yet it could be no other ; for *Jeffrey* himself saith of this ; *I translated it out of British into Latin.*
Galfr. Mon. in Præf. & in fine Libri.

Well then ; Let others bring *Sigebert* for an Authour that writ these things before *Jeffrey* ; I shall bring him that foisted these things into *Sigebert* for an Instance how early others copied from *Jeffrey* : which is a farther proof of the Credit that was given to his Fables, even then in his own Age.

It is true that, even in that fabulous Age, he was censured by some, for that licentious way of writing History : especially, by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *William of Newborough* ; men that used so much of it themselves, that they seem to have feared he might bring it in disgrace by writing with too much extravagance. But what had either of them to say against the *Trojan* part of *Jeffrey's* History ?

Giraldi, Cambriae descr. c. 7.

Gul. Nubrig. in Præf.

Giraldus, for his part, follows him in it ; as if this were the onely true thing in his Book. *Nubrigensis*, as sharp as he falls on *Jeffrey* for other things, yet hath not the least reflexion on him for this. I know not

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not whereunto I may ascribe this partiality : but that either they believed it themselves, as others did ; or at least they durst not disbelieve a thing that took so generally in their Age. How much less could others contradict it a hundred years after, when it was come to be a Tradition universally received ? and that with so great an Authority, that it was thought sufficient to prove any thing that could be inferred from it. There can be no greater instance of this, than was given in that Controversie between King *Edward I.* and Pope *Boniface VIII.* about the Title of the Kingdom of *Scotland* : That King founded his Title in the right of King *Brutus* ; The Parliament owned it in a writing under their Seals ; They sent it to the Pope, who gave no answer, but yielded the Question. About a hundred years after this, it was allowed in a General Council, by all our Bishops and Learned Men, who stood upon it as an undeniable Proof of the Nobleness and Antiquity of this Kingdom.

Mat. Westmon.
anno 1301. *Wal-*
singham, Hypod.
Neustr. p. 492.
Knighton inter
X. Scriptores
Angl. Col. 2484.

Council of *Con-*
stance, Sess. 31.
protest. *Anglic.*

This

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This might well make our Ancestours fond of their *Trojan* Original, when they saw all the great men judge it so honourable, and the learnedst man living vouch for the truth of it.. So that we are not to wonder, at this day, that we find the name of *Brutus* at the top of our Pedigrees. If others valued themselves so much in being his Successours, we had reason to glory much more that he was our Progenitour.

But the Honour that is got by a Lye lasts no longer than till Truth comes to light. Now, since Printing hath brought so much knowledge into this part of the World, we see our neighbouring Nations have sent away their *Trojans* to the Poets from whence they came. And if we are resolved to keep Ours, we must doe it in spight of all true History. Now therefore, if we are fond of a noble Extraction, we must lay out for it some more probable way. And the way is obvious enough to any one, that is not, either destitute of Learning, or possess'd with a love of Knight-errantry :

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try : It is not without suspicion of one, or both, of these Causes, that some are so concerned for *Jeffrey's* Credit, as if the Honour of our Nation were to stand or fall by his Stories.

I wonder what they mean, says Buchanan. Rer. Scot. l. 2. p. 44.
the *Scotish* Historian, that, *in spite of all the truth in Antiquity*, they will needs have it that they come from the *Trojans*, that were at the best a conquered People ; and among them, from such as were Traitors to their Countrey : when they might content themselves (if they pleased) with that which *many acknowledge, and no learned man will gainsay, that they are descended from them that were the first Planters of their Countrey.* This is with great truth acknowledged by that Learned Writer ; not onely to be that which we may justly as-
Caesar. Comment. l. 5.
Diodor. Biblioth. l. 6.
sume, but to be one of the greatest things that can be said of any Nation. It was (as he observes) accounted so by the *Athenians*, who were the most competent Judges of honour, as being in their time the wisest and most learned of all Nations.
But

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But we have this to say for ourselves so many Ages after the *Athenians*, when perhaps there are not many Nations in the World that can say it beside us. We live still in that Countrey of which our Ancestours were the first Inhabitants. And though we have been twice conquered since, yet we have still kept our ground, and whatsoever we lost either of those times, we have gain'd much more by losing it. For by being a Conquest of the *Roman* Empire, we got so much the earlier to be Subjects to *Christ*. And by the *English* Conquest, (which was not till after eight hundred years War; nor even then, but upon an honourable Composition;) we obtain'd a much happier condition than ever our Ancestours enjoyed, or than we could have been capable of otherwise.

And we have this to say more, which few can say elsewhere; that we keep still the same Language, which was spoken first in this Countrey: and we know no reason to doubt, but that, as one of our Ancestours told a great King
that

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that invaded us, God will have an account for this Countrey in no other Language but ours at the Day of Judgment.

Camdeni Brit. de primis Incolis : ex Givaldi Ty-pogr. Wallia.

Other things I could add to the just honour of our Nation, but this one (in my judgment) is more than we can forego without being very great losers by all the advantage that is given us in exchange for it by our Romancing Historian.

That the *Scots* have sped no better than we, in the honour that hath been done them by their Writers, will soon appear to them that have any skill in Antiquity. I do not speak here of the ancient *Scots* that live in *Ireland*, who no doubt have some remains of very ancient true History. But our business at present is with them that live in the Isle of *Britain*, the *Albian Scots*, as they are called for distinction sake :

Of the Scottish Historians.

Of them it is certain, they have not any History that was written within a thousand years after *Christ*; except those Historical Verses in the Manuscript Annals of *Melros*, which perhaps may be of an ancients date. The oldest Writer of their Nation that

They writ late.

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that is quoted by their printed Historians, is *Veremund*, Archdeacon of St. *Andrews*, that lived (as they say) about the time of *William* the Conqueror : and next to him, is *John Cambel*, who is said to have lived in the time of our *Edward* the First : but their Works are now lost, if ever they were in being. I say, if they were ; for I doubt it, because I have not met with any one that hath seen them ; nor are they quoted (that I know,) but by *Hector Boethius*, who in his Preface, and elsewhere, names them for his principal Authours. But I doubt whether he had those Authours whom he quotes ; for he never quotes him that was his Authour indeed, the Monk of *Fordon*, whom he seems to have followed in all his Antiquities.

See Chap. VII.
P. 134.

This Monk of *Fordon* writ no earlier than in the fourteenth Century after *Christ*, and seems to have had no more knowledge of Antiquity than others had that lived in his Age. And yet, as far as I can perceive, it was He that helped the later Historians to all those discoveries

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series of Persons and Things, that were unknown to all their Predecessours. *Hector* put this Monk's Tales into the form of an History; and pieced them out with a very good Invention, that part in which he chiefly excelled. *Buchanan* put them into excellent Latin: he could have put them into as good Verse, if he had pleased; and that perhaps had been better, for then they would have look'd more like a Poem.

That they are by no means to be allowed the name of an History, it were easie to prove by all the ways that we have to judge of such matters. I shall onely insist upon four ways of proving this, whereof the two first are the same that *Buchanan* himself useth in his refutation of our *British* Antiquities before-mentioned.

Objections against their Antiquities.

Rerum Scot. l. 2.

First, As to our *British* Originals, he refutes them by shewing the distance of time at which the first Authour of them lived from the Persons and Things of which he writ.

And

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And then, as to other parts of our History, by shewing that they are contradicted by the *Greek* and *Roman* Historians. These are two such Notes of Imposture as, where-soever they are found, may very well shake the Credit of any Writer.

But besides, there are two other things to be said of the *Scots*, which *Buchanan* could not truly say of our *British* Historians. First, That many of their Antiquities are nothing else but their superstructures upon such Fables of our *Jeffrey's* as might have been easily convicted by those ways of discovery. And Secondly, That the account which they give us of the Originals of their Nation and Religion, were not onely unknown to their own Ancestours, but that they are unreconcileably different from those accounts which their Ancestours gave of themselves, and which were held most authentick among them in ancient Times. This I take to be a most clear and undeniable conviction of their Novelty.

First,

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First, it is a shrewd presumption That they want
 against the truth of any matter de- Authours of
 covered in History, when it is said those Times.
 to have been many Ages before the
 time of him that was the first Au-
 thour that mentioned it: and yet
 he doth not pretend to have seen
 any ancient Record for it, or to
 have any other Authour that lived
 within an Age or two of those
 Times. I do not see what we can
 say for our Writers, when this is
 alledged against them by *Buchanan*,
 in the Case of our *Brutus*; and of
 all that Succession of Kings that are
 said to have reigned in this Isle be-
 fore *Cæsar* came hither. And if
 any one in like manner should que-
 stion the Story of our first Christian
 King *Lucius*, it must rest upon the
 Credit of venerable *Bede*, that writ
 above five hundred years after the
 Time when King *Lucius* is said to
 have lived: unless *Bede* had it out
 of the *Gesta Pontificum*, that Mixen
 of ill-contrived Forgeries, which
 perhaps was made before *Beda's*
 time. We may reasonably presume
 that *Gildas* never heard any thing of
 King *Lucius*: which gives a great
 First, (b) suspi-

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suspicion of the truth of that Story. But let this pass as it will.

For *Buchanan's* part, he might have done well to have remembred this way of trial at home among his own Authours : which if he had done, he would have spared many of the chief things of ancient Times that he has in his History. For, which of his Authours, or what other whom they name, can be said to have lived within twelve hundred years of *Fergus*, their pretended first Monarch ? Or within six hundred years of *Donald*, their first Christian King ? And yet they pretend to give a certain account of the Acts of both these Kings, and of the years that they reigned, and of their Successours, for many Ages, before they had the use of Letters, for ought that appears in any History.

So *Buchanan* in
Rege I. & pas-
sim.

But some of their Writers are so wise as to name no particular Authour : but to say, *Thus we find in our ancient Annals* ; and under that name they give themselves leave to utter what they please. But when our Historians doe the same, *Buchanan*

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Buchanan takes them up for it; and says, *They that pretend to bring things out of old Annals, ought to give some account, who first delivered those things, where they lay so long hid, how they pass'd uncorrupt through so many Ages.* It cannot be denied that these are very reasonable Inquiries. But they seem to have been out of Buchanan's Head, when he writ the Lives of his Forty-first Kings. For else he would not have thought it worth the while to have mentioned any one of them in his History. But it seems he thought it was sufficient that he found them so in *Hector Boethius*, whom he follows, without asking any one of those Questions that he puts to our *British* Historian.

Buchanan. Ref. Scot. l. 2. p. 41.

Another thing which Buchanan often takes notice of, and not without cause, in our old *British* History, as to that part of it which fell within the time of the *Roman* Emperours; is the great and manifest difference, in some things unreconcilable, between ours and the *Roman* Historians.

That they agree not with the *Roman* Historians;

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nied that this Objection cuts off a great part of our *British* Antiquities. And herein indeed the *Scots* have the odds of us, that their Figures are not so easie to be evicted out of the *Roman* History. The reason of this is plain. Their *Hector* lived so much later than our *Jeffrey*; that by means of the Invention of Printing, which came into the World about twenty years before him, he could see divers Books of *Roman* History, that were scarce to be found in *Jeffrey's* days. So that he was aware of that danger of lashing out, and knew the bounds within which he might invent without fear of discovery. But yet he did not observe them so well, but that he may be disproved in very many Instances. Nay, *Buchanan* himself, who understood the *Roman* History exceeding well, perhaps no man better in his Age; yet writing after them that were not so well skill'd in it, they left too great a task upon that Learned Man, to make their Fictions agree with the *Roman* History. And sometimes they drew him after them

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them into gross absurdities ; of which I shall give a clear Instance in what I write upon the next Head.

The mean while, to give this Note its full scope, I shall extend it to others as well as to the *Romans*. It is equally due to all that write the things of their own Times, or such as they find in good Records ; that, so far, their Writings should be a kind of Standard to all those that come after them.

This right I assert to *Adamnanus*, and to *Beda* among others ; and shew that even where they writ of the things of their own Times, the *Scottish* Historians have taken the liberty to vary from them in sundry particulars.

By what hath been said, it sufficiently appears that ours are not the onely Antiquities that are to be convicted of falshood by *Buchanan's* Rules. But whatsoever our Antiquities were, it was all one to *Buchanan's* Authours. Those Men whom he follows in his History were pleased to follow him that was the worst of our Writers,

Nor other Ancient Writers.

Chap. I. § 10.

p. 38.

Chap. II. § 4.

p. 58. & § 5.

p. 63.

That they borrow from *Jessey M.*

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when they thought it would make for their turn ; Though the things they took from him were liable to either of those ways of conviction. I ought not to say this without some kind of proof, though it will take up more room than can well be allowed in a Preface.

*Galfr. Monum.
meth. 11. 2.*

Jeffrey having found that *Severus* the Emperour died here in *Britain*, thought it most for the honour of our Countrey to kill him fairly in battel. And therefore by power of Fancy he creates one *Fulgenius* to be General against him: who being over-powered here at home, went and fetch'd in the *Picts* out of *Scythia*, and with their aid fought *Severus*, and kill'd him, and was kill'd together for company. All this was *Jeffrey's* own proper Invention. And then having found that *Severus* left a Son, *Bassianus*, that was his Successour in the *Roman* Empire ; he makes his *Britans* set up this *Bassianus* to be their King, on his Mother's account, who forsooth was the Sister of *Fulgenius*. Then having found that *Britain* was governed by *Carausius* at some

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Some time after ; he knew not when ; to tack these things together, he makes the forementioned Emperour *Bassianus*, (being betray'd by the *Picts* that came in with his Uncle *Fulgenius*,) be kill'd in fight by this *Carausius*. There was a distance of some seventy years between them : but that was nothing to *Jeffrey* : he writ (I dare say) what might be true for ought he knew.

But, true or false, it fitted the turn of *John of Fordon* ; who, it seems, wanted matter for that part of his *Scoti-Chronicon* : and to help his Invention, he took the hint from our *Jeffrey* ; who seem'd to offer it to his hand, by engaging his Countreymen the *Picts* in that War with *Severus*. Then for congruity, he joins the *Scots* with the *Picts*, and heads them with a noble *Britan Fulgentius* (that seem'd to be a more gentile name than *Fulgenius*) whom he makes Duke or Consul of the *Albanian Britans*. Other *Scotish* Writers follow him in this : but *Buchanan* would not swallow that Gudgeon of a *British*

Bassianus died in *Mesopotamia*, in the year 217. *Carausius* usurped in *Britain*, in the year 286.

Usser. de prim. P. 615, 616.

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Consul, and he knew the *Roman* Writers too well to contradict them so palpably in the Story of *Severus* his death. But *Dempster* is unsufferable : who not content to make use of our *Jeffrey's Fulgenius*, as others do ; spirits him away from us, and faces us down that he was not an *Englishman* (whoever said he was) but a *Scot*. And withall he makes him a *Christian*, and tells us what Books he writ, and laments that they are not extant, as if he were in earnest in all this. But whereas our *Jeffrey* makes the Emperour *Bassianus* be kill'd by *Carausius*, (wherein I believe he is followed by all the *Scotish* Historians, though at present I cannot come at some of their Books ;)

Joh. Major. de *John Major* takes lower ; he onely
gest. Scot. l. 15. says a *Roman* General of that name, was overcome, and kill'd by *Carau-*

Buchan. rer. Scot. *sius* and the *Scots*. *Buchanan* makes
in XXXIV. Re- him the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Brit-*
ge. *tain*, and says onely that the *Scots* and *Picts* leagued with *Carausius* against him. But who told him that there was a *Bassianus* Lieutenant of *Britain*, or that there was
a man

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a man of that name living here in *Caranus's* time? Sure he could not have this from any of the *Roman* Historians: None ever said it before our *Jeffrey*. And is he now such an Authour that *Buchanan* should think fit to say any thing after him? Yes so far as to take *Jeffrey's* Seedlings, and graft upon them. This he and his Authours doe familiarly, as I could shew by very many Instances; They seem to have thought they had cause to be angry with him, when he left them wholly to invent for themselves.

See a notable Instance in this Book, p. 151, 152.

But that which I chiefly insist on, is this, that the now extant *Scotish* Historians give a quite different account of the Originals, both of their Nation and Religion, from that which was given by their Ancestours; and which was Nationally owned by them in their publick Instruments and Writings.

That they differ from their own Ancestours.

The present Nation of the *Scots*, so far as they differ in extraction from the *English*, are chiefly composed of the *Picts*, and *Irish Scots*, as I shall afterwards shew.

Concerning their Original, See Chap. I.

Of

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Of the *Picts*, they are very different Accounts, that were given by *Adamnanus* a *Scotish* Writer that lived about the year of *Christ*, 700. and that were given 700 years after his Time by the Monk of *For-don* and his Followers. This the Reader may see more largely, if he please, for his own satisfaction, in the most Learned Primate *Usher's* Book of the beginnings of the *British* Churches.

Usher. de prim.
p. 1018, 1019.

Of the *Scots* Original, there was no certain *History* (as *Nennius* saith) in his Time, which was about the year 850. But the best Account he could get, was that which I have taken out of him, and inserted in the following Book. There was nothing said then, nor for many Ages after, by any Writer that I know, concerning *Fergus* the Son of *Ferbard*; and that long Succession of Kings, which are now in all the *Scotish* Historians. And after this Succession from *Fergus* was published by *Hector Boethius*, it seems it was not then believed by the Learned Men of his own Nation. For *Polidore Virgil* tells us, that
when

Nennius in capitulis, c. 8.

Chap. I. § 5.
p. 10.
Nennius, c. 9.
and from him
H. Huntingdon.
hist. p. 172. 12.

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when *Hector's* Book was newly come forth; *Gawen Douglas*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, warned him of it, and earnestly prayed him not to follow that History in writing of the *Scottish* Matters. And that Bishop gave him another account of their Original; which, in sum, was the same that was given so many Ages before to our *Nennius*, as was before mentioned. His account is certainly no truer than the other, but it is plain that there is a great difference between them.

For the time of their first coming into *Britain*, it may be worth noting, that the ancient *Culdee* of *St. Andrews*, whose Book Bishop *Usher* had in Manuscript, says that all *Britain* had received the Christian Religion before the *Picts* and *Scots* entred into this Island. This, though it could not be true, yet it seems was then the current Tradition. But now since the Monk of *Fordon's* Time (howsoever he came to discover it,) all their Writers are agreed that they came hither long before *Christ's* Incarnation.

Pol. Virg. Angl. hist. l. 3. p. 50.

Concerning their planting.

Usher. de prim. p. 579.

See Chap. 1. §. p. 10.

For

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For the *Scots*, they can tell how long before, to a year; by a very good token, that it was at the time when *Alexander* the Great took *Babylon*.

Buchan. rer. Scot. in Rege I.

Vide David. Camerar. de Scotorum Fort. p. 5. & 207.

Bed. hist. l. I. p. 23, 24.

Chap. I.

Concerning the *Picts* it is now the most received Tradition that they came hither a good while after the *Scots*. This is directly contrary to the Opinion which was in *Bede's* Time: For he saith, that this Island was *first* planted with *Britans*, who possess'd themselves of the greatest part of it; and that *next* the *Picts* came and seated themselves North of the *Britans*; and after both these, *in process of time*, the *Scots* come *into the Picts part of this Island*, to be a *third Nation*. I shall not detain the Reader here to shew how much of this is true. That will be done in its place, in the following Book. But it must be confessed that *Bede* lived while the *Picts* were a Nation apart from the *Scots*; and no doubt he knew from them of both those Nations in his Age what Tradition they had then of their own Originals. If his be not a better Authority

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rity than any that they have to the contrary, yet at least it sufficeth to my purpose ; to shew that their Tradition in *Bede's* time was very different from that which is now in the *Scotish* Historians.

Of the *Picts* and *Scots* first Conversions to the Christian Religion, the Reader will find in this Book such an account as hath been left us by them which lived in or near the Times of their respective Conversions. But those ancientest Writings were little known, and less considered, by them that lived in and after *Veremund's* Age. I name him in this place, because *Hector Boethius* not onely pretends to follow him as their most ancient Historian, but also mentions him particularly as his Authour in this matter. But if there was such a man as he is said to have been, and if he writ such a History as he is pretended to have written, and if he had that account of their Conversion which is quoted from him, (all which things I may well be allowed to doubt, till I see better proof of them,) it is strange that not the least

Concerning
their Conver-
sion.

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least notice should be taken, of this Man, or his History, or this account of the *Scots* Conversion, by any Writer now extant, of all them that lived before the Monk of *Fordon's* time, (whom I still take to be *Hector's* true Authour for almost every thing, that is not purely his own, or our Countrey-man *Jeffrey's* in his account of the *Scotish* Antiquities.) But as the account that was given by this Monk hath been followed by all their Historians that have written since his time; so they that lived in the next Age before him gave quite another account of their Conversion. I shall prove sufficiently in this Book that neither of them is true; But at present I am onely to shew that there is no agreement between them.

They that lived an Age or two before *John* of *Fordon*, had a Tradition of a wonderfull Victory obtained by their King *Hungus* against the *Saxons* by means of the Reliques of *St. Andrew* the Apostle; which were then by Divine Revelation brought out of *Greece* into *Scotland*:
and

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and that thereupon the *Scots* first received the Faith of *Christ*. This was so much believed to be a true account of their first receiving the Christian Religion; that the *Scots* of that Age owned it publickly in their Apology against King *Edward* the First, which they gave in to Pope *Boniface VIII.* about the year of *Christ*, 1300. And they made that Pope believe it; or else he did not deal fairly with that King, in alledging this way of their Conversion by a Brother of *St. Peter's*, as a reason why the Kingdom of *Scotland* should belong to him that was *St. Peter's* Successour, and not to the King of *England*, who then pretended another right to it.

Apologia, &c.

vide *Usser. de prim. p. 646.*

Bonifac. VIII. Bulla. Ibid. p. 647.

Now this Victory over the *Saxons*, to which the *Scots* of that Age did relate in this account of their Conversion, is said by all the late *Scotish* Writers, to have been obtained by *Hungus* King of the *Picts* about the year of *Christ*, 800. This year 800. was, (by the way,) more than 200 years after the Conversion of the *Saxons*. But they that

vide *Usser. de prim. p. 657. & 714, 715.*

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Ibid. p. 647.

that dated their Conversion from the time of this Victory could not think it was so late: for they say, it was 400 years before the Conversion of the *Saxons*. It is no matter what they thought that were so grossly ignorant of all ancient History. If there were any truth in the matter of Fact, as concerning that Victory, it must have been alter the time when those Reliques are said to have been first discovered, which was pretty late in the fourth Century. And then indeed, those Reliques are said to have been received by an *Urgust* King of the *Picts*, whom I believe the Monk of *Fordon* placed there for that purpose. But then, the *Saxons* were not yet come over into *Britain*, where they must have been for some time, before the *Scots* could have occasion for a Victory over them.

Ibid. p. 657.

And yet to make the matter more difficult, the *Saxons* were not in this Island 400 years, nor 200. before their Conversion. So that the Pope was certainly misinformed, and the *Scots* were

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were much more out in their Story.

Therefore, to mend the matter, their late Writers have taken it in pieces, and set it up quite another way.

First, they are willing to believe their Countreymen had such a Victory over the *Saxons*: And they pitch upon King *Athelstan* for the man that suffered in it; from whose death they say the place was called *Athelstan-Ford*. But it falls out unhappily, that the *Saxons* had no King of that name, but one, that was not born at the time that they set for that Victory. Therefore *Buchanan* thinks, it should have been rather over the *Danes*, than the *Saxons*. He should have said, that perhaps all this was but Fiction: for he could judge of it no otherwise, according to his own Rules before-mentioned.

*Buchan. rer. Scot.
l. 5. LXV. Reges*

Secondly, for the means by which this Victory should have been obtained, which was said at first to have been by the Reliques of *St. Andrew*, being brought over then out of *Greece*: Now they say,

*Vsser. de prim.
p. 657. & 715.*

(c)

those

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those Reliques were brought long before; But the Victory was obtained by a Vision of St. *Andrew*, and by his Cross seen in the Air, which ever since hath been the Badge of that Nation. Here is some alteration, as the Reader may see, in these particulars.

But this is nothing to that which they have made in the Consequence of it; Namely, that hereupon they were converted to the Faith. Whosoever had considered that these were *Picts*, and not *Scots*, must needs have seen the absurdity of this. For from *Bede*, who was then in every ones Hands, it was evident that the *Picts* were converted long before King *Athelstan's* time: The South-*Picts* about the year 412. the North-*Picts* about the year 560. as I shall have occasion to shew. But in these publick Instruments which I have mentioned, it is said, that the *Scots*, not the *Picts*, owed to St. *Andrew's* Reliques, not his Vision, for this Victory, and for their Conversion together.

Chap. II. § 2,
& 6.

It

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It was certainly false, that the *Scots* of that Age were concerned in that Conversion, or Victory, if any thing of this Story had been true. And this their late Writers seem to have understood well enough. For they have thrown aside all that part on which the Pope grounded his pretension, as if their Forefathers had devised it onely to serve a turn. And now they stick to nothing but onely the Date of their Conversion. Whereas their Ancestours said, that the *Scots* were converted 400 years before the *Saxons*; so they say still: But the *Saxons* were converted about the year 600. therefore the *Scots* Conversion must be about the year 200.

And indeed they hit upon a fit time, for then *Victor* was Pope; whose next Predecessour, *Eleutherius*, as then it was generally believed, had sent them that converted the *Britans*. Why might it not as well be believed that Pope *Victor* did as much for the *Scots*? No doubt it might, if there were any good Authour for it. And why not?

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not? Doth not Archdeacon *Vere-mund*'s name sound as well as Venerable *Bede*'s? Might One's Authority pass for a King *Lucius*, and not the Other as well for a King *Donald*? Why might not One remember things 1000 years before he was born, as well as the Other 500. No doubt so far they were in the right: and whosoever compares them will see, that one of these Stories was a Pattern to the other. What our Historians made *Eleutherius* doe for our *Lucius*, the same doth *Hector Boethius* make Pope *Victor* doe for *Donald*.

But if this had been thought of in Pope *Boniface*'s time, it might have entituled him to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, much better than that other abandoned account of their Conversion. For though it was a wrong way to ground a temporal Right upon one's being the Author of such a spiritual Benefit: yet the Pope might judge it a good way, if he pleased; and who could contradict him in that dark superstitious Age? But then it would be expected that he should shew how
this

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this Right came to him or his See in particular. And for this, it was indeed a miserable fetch to claim under St. *Peter's* Brother, as he did; though the King was so civil to him as to take no notice of it in his Answer. But to have claimed under his own Predecessour, Pope *Victor*, would have made his Title so clear to any one that had but granted his supposition, that it is hard to think why he should use any other pretension. He would certainly have used no other, if he had not been ignorant of this. And if he was ignorant of it, we may be sure the *Scotish* Nation were so too. For *they informed him* of this, *Mat. Westmon.* as well as all other matters in his P. 419. lin. ult. Bull. It appears they told him that which was their current Tradition: and knew nothing of that which had been more for his turn. King *Donald's* conversion was not known then, which is the thing I was to prove.

I think it is sufficiently proved, by all those ways before-mentioned, that the *Scotish* Historians are not to be credited in what they write,

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of those Matters and Times which are to be considered in the following Book. But if, after all that hath been said, they must still be good Authours; and their word must be taken for things in which they have no Authour but themselves: I shall onely desire, that they which have this esteem for them, would be pleased not to argue from their Authority; and especially, not in matters of Religion. Whosoever will not grant me this request, must give me leave to believe, that either he is not in good earnest, or he does not know what he says, when he writes himself a hater of false History.

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Of the Primitive

Church-Government.

IN

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND.

The general Design of this Book.

BEING to give Account of the Primitive Church-Government in the Islands of Great Britain and Ireland, I think it will be necessary to proceed in this order: *First*, to shew (a) how these Countries were (a) Chap. I. Peopled in those times, when the Christian Religion was planted here: *Secondly*, (b) how the several Nations that dwelled in these (b) Chap. II. Islands received the Christian Faith; B and

Chap. I. and *Thirdly*, (c) how the Churches

§ I. were governed in these Nations,
(c) Ch. III. IV. V. before they came under the yoke of
the Papacy. *Lastly*, having shewn
that they were governed by such
Bishops as are now among us; I
(d) Chap. VI. (d) shall answer those Objections
that are brought on the contrary,
by them that pretend to shew that
there was anciently another way
of Church-government in some
parts of these Islands.

CHAP. I.

§ I. **F**IRST, I am to shew how
this Island of *Britain* was
planted at the time when it recei-
ved the Christian Religion.

All the South part of the Island,
which we now call *England* and
Wales, was then Peopled by the
Civilized *Britains*; who, having
been Conquered by the Roman
Emperours, lived under such Go-
vernours and Garrisons, as were
sent hither from *Rome*, by the
Conquerours and their Successours.

The North part of the Island,
which

which is now called *Scotland* (* a * v. § 4. name which was not used in that sense in many Ages after the time of which we speak,) was Peopled partly by the *Britains* before-mentioned, and partly by the *Picts*, who (e) seem to have been a ru-
 der sort of *Britains*, (f) that would never yield to the *Romans*, but still kept up their ancient Manners and Liberty.

(e) V. Camdeni Brit. de Pictis, p. 83.
 (f) v. § 3.

§ 2. The Frontier of the *Roman Britains* against the *Picts* was first placed between the two *Friths* of *Badotria* and *Glotta*, that are now called of *Edenborough* and *Dunbritton*. There *Agricola* in *Vespasian's* time made his Forts, and put Garri-
 sons in them, to shut the *Picts*, as they were, into another Island, as his son-in-law (g) *Tacitus* expresses it.

(g) Taciti vita Agricola, c. 23.

And though by the evil Government of the Emperour *Domitian* that Frontier was lost, So that the Emperour *Adrian* was fain to make a new one between *Tine* and *Solway Frith*, yet the former was recovered by *Lollius Urbicus* Lieutenant to his Successour *Antoninus Pius*, who

(h) Capitolini Ant. Pius Inter Hist. Ang. Scriptores, p. 19.

(b) built there a wall of Turf to se-

Chap. I.

§ 2.

(i) *V. Camdeni*
Brit. p. 699.

(k) *Aur. Victor.*
de Cæsaribus,
p. 154.

(l) *Nennius,* c. 9.

(m) *Ammian.*
Marcell. l. 28.
p. 309. 15, &c.

* § 6 and 7.

(n) *Gildas de*
excid. Brit.

p. 1006.

(o) *Gild.* ib.

p. 1007.

(p) *Atlas Scot.*

p. 4. and in
Maps after p. 9,

75, & 95.

(q) *Atlas* ib.

p. 41, & 82.

cure it against the *Picts*, as (i) appears by divers of his Inscriptions which have been digg'd up in that place. When afterwards it was lost again, and *Severus* the Emperour had built his wall of Stone upon *Adrian's* Frontier; yet the former was recovered again by the *Romans*, and there (k) *Carausius* built a wall of Stone, as we are told by the (l) *British* Historian. This boundary seems to have held till the first *Valentinian's* time: then being broken through again, it was repaired by his General *Theodosius*; who (m) reduced all that Land between the two Frontiers into its former *Estate*, and obtain'd that it might be a distinct Province, called *Valentia*, from the name of the Emperour. Thus it continued till the decay of the *Roman* Empire: but then * upon the fresh incursions of *Picts* and *Scots* into the Civilized Country, the works were new made, and (n) first a Rampire of earth was built there, and then (o) a wall of Stone, with several Castles or Forts to defend it; the Ruins whereof (p) are yet to be seen, and (q) are called

called by the name of *Graham's Dike*, or *Gramy's Dike*, or *Grime's Dike*.

The Roman part of *Britain* was

(r) first made a Præsidial Province (r) *Camden.*
by *Agricola* before-mentioned. Af- *Brit. p. 43.*

terward (s) by *Severus* it was divi- (s) *Herodian.*
ded into two Provinces, called *Super-* *hist. l. 3. p. 526.*
riour and *Inferiour*. Lastly, (t) by 4. & *Dion l. 55.*
Constantine the Great it was divided p. 214. 9. & 14.

into Four; to wit, *Britannia prima*, (t) *Usser. prim.*
Britannia secunda, *Maxima Cæsari-* p. 96. ex *S. Rufi*
ensis, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*; to brev. in *Gallia-*
rum divisione.

which, (u) a fifth was added by (u) *Ammian,*
Theodosius, namely that *Valentia* l. 28. p. 369. 19.

which I have mentioned. But whether the Provinces were one or more, the Roman part of the Island was still under one Governour, sent by the Emperour: which Governour was at first (w) called his Pro-

prætor, or Lieutenant till *Constan-* (w) *Camdeni*
tine's time; and then, the division of *Brit. p. 44, &c.*

the Empire being much changed, the Government of this Island (x) (x) *Zosim. hist.*
was by a Vicar or Deputy under the l. 2. p. 688. 23.
Præfectus Prætorio of *Gaule*, as appears in the *Notitia* of the Empire.

§ 3. The *Picts*, who had the west of this Island of *Britain*, inhabited in the North part of *Scotland*,

Chap. I. *land*, which from *Grahams-dike* before-mentioned, extended as far as the North Ocean. They were an-

§ 3.

(y) *Taciti vita Agricola*, c. 25. *Geo.*

(z) *V. Camdeni Brit.* p. 83.

(a) *Eumenii Pa. neg. ad Constantium*, p. 258. *V. Usser. prim.* p. 586.

(b) *Claudian. de III Conf. Honorii* ver. 54. calls them *--nec falso nomine Pictos*, & *V. Claud. de bello Getico*, v. 418.

(c) *Paneg. ad Constantinum*, p. 235.

Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum sylvæ & paludes.

(d) *Ammian.* 1.27. p. 346. l. 30.

(e) *Deu and Chwith*, right and left, were anciently used for South and North, *V. Usser. prim.* p. 80. and 1021.

(f) *Bede. hist.* 3. 4. p. 168.

ciently called (y) *Caledones*, or *Caledonians*, that is (perhaps) *Cilyddion*, *Borderers* in the British Tongue;

and were (z) not of a different Language from the *Britains*, nor were called by any other name that we

read of, till about 300 years after *Christ*. Then we find them (a) first

called *Picts*, because (b) they still continued the old *British* use of

painting their Bodies: and yet they that lived next the *Roman* Frontier

were (c) still called *Caledones*, that is, *Borderers*; and were by that

name distinguisht from the other *Picts*. Who those other *Picts* were,

we learn from *Ammian*, that writ about fourscore years after. For (d) he

tells us, there were two Nations of the *Picts*, which were called *Di-*

caledones, and *Veſturiones*, perhaps (e) *Deucilyddion* and *Chwithwrion*;

that is in British, the *Southern Caledones*, or *Borderers*, and the *Nor-*

thern-men: no doubt the same that were afterwards called the *South*

and *North Picts*, which (as (f) *Bede* saith)

faith) were separated from each other by a ledge of high and steep Mountains, that lay between them. These Mountains, I suppose, (g) were the (g) Atlas Scot. same that were called *mons Grampius* P. 76. us by the Ancients, and (h) are now (h) Ib. called *Gransben-hills*: among which Hills (i) the Countrey is called (i) Ib. p. 113. *Braid-albin*, that is high *Albion*; and (k) the highest of them is called (k) Ib. *Drum-albin*, that is, the back or ridge of *Albion* or *Britain*, which I mention as being perhaps the onely remains of that most ancient name of this Island.

§ 4. *Ireland* the mean while was inhabited by the *Scots*, and from them was called *Scotland* by the Writers that lived in those times. The (l) first Writer that mentioneth the name of *Scots*, is *Porphyry*, (l) *Usser. de primord. p. 586. 728.* in a Book which seems to have been written about the Year of *Christ* Three hundred; for there (as it is quoted in (m) *St. Jerome*,) he calleth (m) *Hieron. Epist. ad Cresiph. Tom. 2. p. 259.* *Britain* a Province fruitfull of *Tyrants*, referring chiefly no doubt to (n) those that set up then against *Diocletian*: and there he speaks of the (n) *Carausius, Allectus, Asclepiodorus.* *Scotish* Nations apart, as not living

in Britain at that time. But that their dwelling then was in Ireland

(o) Oros. hist. l. 2. in Europa.

(p) Claudian. de Pr. Conf. Stilich.

l. 2. v. 251. totam cum Scotus

Iernen Movit, & infesto spumavit,

remige Tethys.

(q) Claudian. de iv. Conf. Hon.

ver. 33. Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

(r) Prosper. cont. Collat.

c. 41. speaking of Pope Celestin,

Ordinato Scotis Episcopo. dum

Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam,

fecit etiam Barbaram Christianam.

(s) Hegeſip. de bell. Judaic. v. 15.

(t) Gronov. Monobibl.

(u) Isidor. Originum xiv. 6.

p. 193. B. Scotia eadem & Hibernia.

(x) Gild. de excidio Brit. l. i.

p. 1006, 1007.

(y) Cogitofſi vita

Brigide. c. 14.

is affirmed by (o) Orosius in his History which was written in the

year 417. his words are, Ireland is inhabited by the Nations of the

Scots. With which agrees that of (p) Claudian, who wrote about twenty

year before, that the Scots rose all over Ireland, and made the Sea

some with their Oars; and again (q) that Ireland wept over the heaps of

Scots that were slain. So (r) Prosper, within twenty years after Oro-

sius, calls that in which the Scots lived, the Barbarous Island, in con-

tradistinction to Britain which he calleth the Roman Island. There-

fore Ireland is called Scotia by the Writers of those times; particularly

by him that calleth himself (s) Hegeſippus, who (t) was either St. Ambrose, or a Writer of that Age. So

(u) Isidor, about the year 620. saith, Scotia is the same with Hibernia.

(x) Gildas, who writ in the year 564. calls the same People, sometimes

Scoti, and sometimes Hiberni. (y) Cogitofſus saith of Kildare in Ireland,

that it was the safest place in all the Land

Land of the Scots. So (z) *Adamnanus*, about the year 680. calleth it *the Isle of Scotland*; and * *faith of Columba*, that he sailed out of Scotland into Britain. So (a) *Bede* in his History, which was writ about Fifty years after, *faith of the Scots*, that *their Country is Ireland*, and sometimes calls it *the Isle of Scotland*, and hath the words *Scotland and Ireland* used promiscuously for the same in (b) several places: and King *Alfred* (c) in his *Saxon Translation of Orosius*, at the passage which I have mentioned, hath these words, *Ibernia that we call Scotland*: and in his *Translation of Bede* he calls it (d) sometimes *Hibernia-Scotland*, and (e) sometimes *Hibernia the Scots Island*. Not to burthen the Reader with more quotations, I shall refer him to the most learned Bishop *Usher*; who (f) at large proves this use of the word, and (g) thus concludes: *I do not believe that there is any Writer, that lived within a Thousand years after Christ, that once mentioned the name of Scotland, and doth not mean Ireland by it.* How after that time the name of

(z) *Adamn. vita Col. I. 12. insula Scotia.*

* *Ib. I. 1. de Scotia ad Britanniam enavigavit. So Epit. Bede An. 565.*

(a) *Bed. hist. II. 5. p. 118.*

(b) *Ib. II. 4. and iv. 26. p. 345.*

(c) *Usser. prim. p. 731.*

(d) *Bed. hist. II. 5. p. 120.*

(e) *Ib. III. 7. p. 177. and iv. 26. p. 345.*

(f) *Usser. primord. p. 725. &c.*

(g) *Ib. p. 734. speaking of the eleventh Century, he saith, neminem qui toto antecedentium annorum spatio scripserit, produci posse arbitramur, qui Scotiæ appellatione Albaniam unquam designaverit.*

Chap. I.

§ 5.

of *Scotland* came to be used, as now it is, for the Northern part of *Britain*, will be seen at the end of this Chapter.

§ 5. But first I am to shew the great change that has been made in the Peopling of this Island, and that especially in those times before the whole Island was Christian. The onely difficulty in this matter will be, to find at what time the *Scots* came first to settle in *Britain*. Our

(b) *Nennius*, c. 9.

(b) *Nennius* saith, *the most skilfull men among the Scots told him*, that the Founder of their Nation, a *Scythian* that married *Scotta* King *Pharaoh's* Daughter, was he that brought them first into *Ireland*; and that *they came to the Countries of Dal-*ried at the time when *Brutus* was Consul of the *Romans*. But the *Scotish* Historians within these 300 years tell us another Tale; that

(i) *Buchan. rer. Scot.* fol. 34. 14.

they came first into *Britain* (i) at the time when *Alexander* the Great took *Babylon*, (k) that is 330 years before the coming of *Christ*. These

(k) *Heß. Boeth. Scot. Hist.* l. 1. fol. 7. lin. 8.

fiction no man can pretend any ground for in ancient History. But that the *Scots* dwelt in this Island at least

least in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, this *Buchanan* maintains against *Humphrey Lhuyd*, an excellent Poet against an excellent Antiquary, as

(*l*) *Cambden* well judgeth between (*d*) *Camb. Brit.* them. I leave the Reader to him P. 89. in *Scoti*.

for an account of their Authorities:

Onely one, that is the chief, I ought

to take notice of, (*m*) because it (*m*) *Paneg. Max-*

proves that the *Scots* did not dwell *imiano A. p. 258.*

here in *Cæsar's* time; and yet from *ad hoc natio e-*

the same place *Buchanan* proves *tiam tunc rudis,*

they did, by construing it false, for *et Soli Britanni,*

which *Cambden* ought to have given *Pictis modo et*

him correction. The words them- *Hibernis assueta*

selves I have put in the Margent; *hostibus adhuc se-*

wherein (*n*) *Buchanan* saith that *minudis, facile*

Soli Britanni is not the Nominative *Romanis armis*

case, but the Genitive; and so he *signisque cesse-*

construes it thus, that before *Cæ-*

sar's coming hither the *Britains*

fought against the *Scots* and *Picts*

of the *British Soil*, that is, *who then*

dwelt in the British Soil, as he ex-

plains it. If this be so, the words

are clear of his side. But being

construed true, they are as plainly

against him. For this is it that the

Oratour drives at; comparing the

Victory of *Constantius* over *Carau-*

Chap. I. *sius in Britain, with that which Cæ-*
 § 5. *far formerly gain'd over the Bri-*
tains, he would shew that this of
Constantius was the greater Action
of the two : for (saith he) Cæsar
had several advantages which Con-
stantius had not ; moreover the Na-
tion (that Cæsar overcame) being
yet rude, unskillfull of War, and one-
ly Britains, a Nation used to no other
Enemies but Picts and Irish who were
yet half naked, easily yielded to the
Roman Arms and Ensigns ; but he
whom Constantius overcame, ha-
ving got a Roman Legion of his side,
having stopt some Squadrons of Aux-
iliaries, having mustered the Gauls
that were here on account of Mer-
chandise, having drawn in to his as-
sistence no small forces of the Barba-
rous Nations, and having all these
exercised and train'd, it was no
such easie thing to get the Victory
over him : I think it plain by this
comparison that Soli Britanni is not
Genitive but Nominative, and if
so, then the Irish here spoken of
are not said to dwell in British Soil,
as Buchanan would have it. In-
deed, to help the matter, he would
 have

of Great Britain and Ireland.

15

have them called *Scots*, because it sounds pretty well that the *Scots* lived in *Britain*; but the *Irish*? where should they dwell but in *Ireland*? It is scarce sense to say the *Irish* of the *British Soil*: *Buchanan* was wise, the word *Scots* was more agreeable to his purpose. But as *Cambden* observeth, the *Pannegyrist* is so far from saying the *Scots* were then in *Britain*, that he doth not say that yet they were come into *Ireland*: he onely saith, there were *Irish* then in the World, and that they and the *Picts* were Enemies to the *Britains*. And yet even That he did not speak like an Historian, saith * *Cambden*; but as * *Camd. Brit. in Scoti. p. 89.* Oratours use to speak of old things at the rate of their own times. But besides, admit they were *Scots* that he spoke of, he does not say They lived in *Britain*, though the *Picts* did: he onely saith, that both these Nations were Enemies to the *Britains*; the *Picts* indeed living in the same Continent made incursions upon them by Land which was an Act of Hostility, the *Irish* who lived in another Island came in their

(a) Cur-

Of the Ancient Inhabitants

Chap. I.

§ 6.

(a) *Uff. de prim.*
p. 606.

(a) *Curroghs* and robbed them by Sea which was no less an Act of hostility. If the Authour had said *SCOTI & Picti*, this had proved nothing; onely it had not made against *Buchanan's* opinion; as most evidently it doth when the Authour saith *HIBERNI & Picti*: he would have called them *Scots* rather than *Irish*, if he had thought of any other than *Ireland* for their Countrey.

§ 6. But when did they first come hither into *Britain*? It is a Question upon which much depends, and therefore I will endeavour to leave nothing unsaid that can be said to it out of the ancient Writers.

(b) *Bed. hist. l. i.*
p. 23, 24.

Bede (b) saith they came over first under one *Reuda*, and settled themselves in that part of *Britain* which from him is called (*Dalried*, that is,) the portion of *Reuda*. But did not that Countrey rather take its name from * *Dalried* in *Ireland*, now called (c) *Routh*, from whence the *Scots* came to plant themselves in *Britain*? There is nothing more common than this way of carrying the

* v. § 8.

(c) *Uff. de prim.*
p. 611, & 1029.

the names of Places and Countries along with the Colonies they send forth. And it seems very probable that this *Reuda* (whom † late Roman-
mancers call *Reuther*) might be that *Ri Eda*, or King *Eda*, * the first K. of *Dalried* in *Ireland*, who left his name to that Countrey, from whence it came over into *Britain* in after-times. For *Bede* doth not bring any Authour for that which he saith of *Reuda*'s bringing the *Scots* into *Britain*; and therefore I suppose he might take it up, as (*d*) he professes he did what he saith of the first planting of the *Britains* and *Picts* in that Chapter, by hearsay and no otherwise. And whereas for what he saith of any action out of Books he commonly expresses the time when it hapned; here he hath no time for the coming of *Reuda* into *Britain*. Therefore Archbishop *Usher*, admitting it to be true, and yet finding nothing of the person elsewhere, has made a guess at the time of his coming hither, from what is said of the *Scots* first coming into *Britain*. He finds in the Life of *St. Patrick*,

† *Heist. Boeth.*
Scot. hist. l. 2.
fol. 20. lin. 45.
* *Usher. prim.*
p. 611. v. § 8, 9.

(*d*) *Bed. Ib. p. 23.*
ut fertur — ut
perhibent.—

Chap. I.

§ 6.

trick, that when *Neil* was King of *Ireland*, (which was about the end of the Reign of *Constantius* the Son of *Constantine*) then the *Scots* began to infest the Northern Coast of *Britain*. He finds in *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, that in the time of that *Neil* before-mentioned, there came six Sons of one *Mured* out of *Ulster*, and planted themselves in the Northern parts of *Britain*: Here it is to be considered, (e) saith he, whether the chief of these might not be

(e) *Uss. prim.*
P. 587.

(f) *Ib. p. 1086.*

Reuda; elsewhere (f) he saith, it seems that it was he.

About that time indeed we find the *Scots* being in *Britain* first mentioned by any of the *Roman* Historians: but they speak of them not as coming then to plant here, but onely as coming to help the *Picts* in their incursions, (which they made together as often as the *Romans* gave them any opportunity.) It was about the year 360.

(g) *Ammian.*
Marcell. l. 20.
beginning.

(h) *Ib. Condiſta*
loca limitibus vi-
cina.

that, as (g) *Ammian* saith, they and the *Picts* fell into (h) such places next the *Roman* frontier as they had agreed upon among themselves, and there they harraſſ'd the Countrey of

and.

King of
the end
the Son
scots be-
Coast of
us Cam-
at Neil
me six
Ulster,
ne Nor-
re it is
e, whe-
not be
with, it
ve find
in first
Roman
of them
t here;
elp the
which
as the
ortuni-
r 360.
ey and
es next
had a-
s, and
untrey
of

of Great Britain and Ireland.

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of the Britans. Thus it seems they did for some years, till the Countrey was even begger'd (i) by (i) Ammian. l. 27. p. 345. 21. the Conspiracy of those Barbarous Nations, and then Theodosius was sent against them: who tamed the Picts, as (k) the Panegyrist saith, (k) Claudian. in III. Consul. Honorii, ver. 55. Pictos Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas. and hunted the Scots over the Sea; So that, as he says elsewhere, (l) Claud. in IV. Consul. Honorii, ver. 33. Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne. (l) speaking of the same action, Ireland lamented the heaps of the Scots that were slain.

Soon after his return those two Nations join'd together again, and made another incursion, as (m) Prosper tells us; but then Maximus, (m) Prosper Tyrone's Chron. A. 4. Theodosii. who commanded here in Britain, being made Emperour by the Roman Army, overcame them; and (n) Buchan. rer. Scot. fol. 44. lin. 47. (n) as the Scottish Historians tell us, the Picts join'd with him, but the Scots he chased quite out of Britain.

This Maximus afterward, in pursuance of his hopes of the Empire, gathered all the Forces he could raise here in Britain, and carried them over into France, from whence very few of them did ever return. This was the fatal thing to which

C

Gildas

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(o) *Gildas de*
excid. Brit.
p. 1006.

(p) *Bede. hist.*
l. 12. p. 52.

* § 6. p. 14.

Gildas ascribes the destruction of his Country. For, (o) saith he, from that time forward Britain being deprived of all its armed men, its military Forces, its Commanders such as they were, and a vast number of men for service, which going away with that Tyrant, never returned home any more, and being wholly to seek what should be done in time of War, came first to be trampled by two transmarine Nations fiercely cruel, the Scots from the West, and the Picts from the North, under whom it is astonisht, and groines for many years. Where *Gildas* calleth them *Transmarine Nations*, *Beda*, (p) using the same expression after him, explains it by saying, we do not mean they lived out of Britain, but that they were separated from the Britans by the two *Friths* of *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton*. This was true in *Bede's* time, that not onely the *Picts*, but a Nation of the *Scots* lived in *Britain*. They had done so for some Ages, and they might have lived there from *Reuda's* time, for ought * he knew. But as *Bede* takes *Gildas* aright in what

of Great Britain and Ireland.

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what he says concerning the *Picts*; so *Gildas* explains himself better concerning the *Scots*, by saying, in this place, that they came from the West of Britain: and afterwards, at their return, (q) he saith, *the Irish returned home*. Where should their home be, but in Ireland? (q) *Gildas* lb. p. 1008.

From thence it was, that after *Maximus* his death, they came again to share with the *Picts* in their usual prey. *Claudian*, who lived at the time of this Invasion, thus expresseth it in the place before-mentioned; (r) *when the Scots rose all over Ireland, and the Sea foam'd with hostile Oars*. This Incurſion lay so hard upon the *Britans*, that being not able to bear it, they were fain to send to *Rome* for assistance. (r) *Claud.* in pr. Conf. *Stilic.* l. 2. vers. 2510. — totam cum Scotus Iernen Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

They had little reason to expect it from thence, having been in Rebellion ever since *Maximus* his time. But yet upon their Submission they had a Legion sent them, and that by *Stilicho*, as (s) *Claudian* tells us. Which Legion (t) drove out the Enemy with a great slaughter, and particularly chased the *Scots* out of Britain, as we are told by (u) their (s) *Claud.* lb. Munivit *Stilicho*. (t) *Gildas* lb. p. 1006. (u) *Mariani Scoti Chron.* Anno 447.

Chap. I. ancientest Historian. To make
§ 6. this a lasting benefit they caus'd

(w) *Gildas* Ib. (w) faith *Gildas*, to build a Wall of
Turf across the Island between the
two Seas. It is not to be doubted

(x) *Bed. hist.* that they built it (x) between the
l. 12. p. 53. two *Friths*, in the place where it
Bucan. rer. Scot. formerly stood before the Incurfion.
l. 5. p. 46. l. 88.

The Guards upon this Wall were
(y) *Ammian.* called their (y) *prætenturæ*, whence
hist. l. 28. p. 369. the Legion was said to be (z) *præ-*
16. *tenta Britannis*. This Legion being

(z) *Claudian de* called away (a) to help the Em-
bell. Get. v. 416. perour *Honorius* against the *Goths*,
(a) *Claudian. Ib.* went from hence in great Triumph,

(b) *Gild. Ib.* as (b) *Gildas* faith, reckoning that
they had left the *Britans* secured
against the barbarous Nations.

But as soon as they were gone,
the former Enemies came in again
(c) *Gildas* Ib. fo with *Sails and Oars*, faith (c) our Au-
Bed. hist. l. 12. thour; that is, the *Scots* came again
p. 53. *adveſti na-* out of *Ireland*, as I understand him
vibus.

(d) *Mar. Scot.* from (d) *Marianus Scotus*, who men-
Chron. Ib. Scoti tioneth onely the *Scots* in this second
adveſti navibus. Invaſion after the death of *Maxi-*
mus the Usurper. They broke the

(e) *Gildas* Ib. Frontier, faith (e) *Gildas*, and de-
stroyed all that came in their way.

The

The *Britans* being utterly unable to defend themselves, sent again to beg help of the *Romans*. They sent them a Legion, as before; who coming unexpectedly on their Enemies, made a great slaughter of them, and (f) *drove all that could escape over the Seas*, who before that *used yearly to carry away their prey over the Seas without resistance*: this again (g) *Marianus* applieth to the *Scots*, as being alone in this Action.

(f) *Gildas* Ib. p. 1007. and *Bed. Ib.* p. 53.

(g) *Mar. Scot. Ib.* *Romani recurrunt, & Scottos fugant.*

The *Romans* having thus rescued the *Britans*, declared to them that they could not often endure the Fatigue of such Journeys; nor did they think it worth the while to employ the *Roman* Ensigns against such (h) *poor pilfering Robbers*: they would have them take the courage to defend themselves against Nations that were not stronger than they, if it were not for their Laziness and Cowardise. And that they might the more easily doe this, they not onely furnisht them with Arms, and taught them the art of *War*, but they took care to fortify their Countrey against any Invasion: particularly, instead

(h) *Gildas* Ib. *imbelles erraticosque latrunculos.*

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(i) *Gildas Ib.*
tramite à mari
usque ad mare in-
ter urbes directo
librant—

Bed. hist. l. 12.

P. 54.

(k) *Bed. Ib.*

P. 52.

* § 2.

(l) *Gild. Ib. &*
Bed. Ib.

of their Wall of Turf before-men-
tioned, they made another of stone,
which (i) *they built in a streight*
line from Sea to Sea between the
Cities which had been placed there
before for fear of the Enemies ; that
is, between (k) *Guidi near Eden-*
burgh, and Alcluith which is now
call'd Dunbritton. This I ob-
serve, to shew that still the same
* bounds were continued between
the *Picts* and the *Britans*; Beside,
on the shore of the Ocean toward
the South-side [of *Dunbritton Frith*]
where their Ships lay, because the
Barbarian wild Beasts were feared
to come that way, they placed
Towers at set distances within
view of the Sea ; and having done
this, they took leave, as being ne-
ver to return more. But (l) *no soo-*
ner were they gone, but there came
by Scholes out of the Curroughs in
which they were carried over the
Scythian Vale, grim Troops of
Scots and Picts, partly different in
manners, but alike eager for Blood,
and that had more shaggy hair to
cover their faces, than they had
Cloths over the secret parts of their
Bodies

Bodies. These upon the assurance they had that the *Romans* were gone, and would not return, being now more bold than ever, (m) took (m) *Gild. & Bed.* possession of all the North and outmost part of the Land instead of the Natives as far as the Wall before-mentioned. And the Guards, that were placed there on the Towers, making no resistance, they from below with long hooks pluckt them down, and dashed them against the ground. Thus the Wall being cleared, and the Cities forsaken, the Enemy had the Countrey open to them; and made such slaughter and spoil there, that the Countrey seemed like to a Wilderness. The *Britans* that escap'd sent over to *Ætius* the *Roman* General for help, but none came. The mean while through the spoil that had been made, there came to be a Famine in the Land, which made them desperate. Then they fought for themselves; and those that skulkt in the Mountains and Caves, and thick Woods being join'd with them, they drove the Enemy out of the Countrey. *Those impudent Robbers,*

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(n) Gildas Ib. p. 1008. Rever-
tuntur ergo im-
pudentes grassa-
tores Hiberni
Domum, (non
longo post tempo-
re reversuri.)
Picti, in extrema
parte Insule, tunc
primum & deinceps,
requieverunt;
[prædas & contritiones
nonnunquam facientes] Bed.
hist. l. 14. p. 56.
hath all the same
words, except
those within the
hooks; where
he saith of the
Scots [post non
longum tempus
reversuri.] and
of the Picts,
[prædas tamen
nonnunquam ex-
inde & contritiones
de Britonum
gente agere non
cessarunt.]

* P. 23.

bers, the Irish, went home, (n) saith Gildas, not to return along while after: the Picts, in the utmost parts of the Isle, rested then first, and so they did for the future; onely making inrodes and spoil between whiles. This turn of things is placed by *Gildas* and *Bede*, in the year when *Ætius* was in his third Consulship; that is in the year of our Lord 446. Which is a sufficient proof, that as yet, the *Scots* did not inhabit in this Island: nor did the *Picts* in any place on this side of the Wall before-mentioned, nor it seems very near it. Thus much is plainly exprest in those words, that the *Scots* (here called *IRISH*) *returned home*; that is, went out of the Isle: the *Picts* staid in the Isle, but it was in the utmost parts of it, beyond the *Britans* in the * former Quotation; and there, though they had not been at rest for many Ages, yet now they rested, say our Authors; it was indeed the first time that they rested, and though they Robb'd between whiles, yet they made no invasion for the future.

§ 7. How the state of things in this

this Island was changed afterward,
 (o) *Gildas* proceeds to shew in the (o) *Gild. Ib.*
 Historical part of his Work. He P. 1008.
 saith, that the *Britans* being rid
 of their Enemies, soon after the fa-
 mine ceast, and there came such a
 plenty in the stead, that the like
 was never known in any Age. But
 this fulness made them forget God,
 and fall deeper into those sins from
 which he would have reclaimed
 them by his punishments. A Peo-
 ple that profited so little by his rod,
 God might forthwith have given
 up as incorrigible: but yet he was
 pleased to try them once more.
 There went a flying rumour among
 the People, that their old Enemies
 were coming again, with a full re-
 solution to destroy them, and to
 inhabit their Countrey. This eve-
 ry one believed, though there was
 no ground for it. But (as (p) *So-* (p) *Prov. 29. 19.*
lomon saith) *one of a servile dispo-*
sition is not to be mended with words,
yea a fool is scourged and doth not
feel it. There was such a Plague
 among them, that killed more than
 the living could bury; and yet
 they were altogether insensible.
 They

Chap. I. They did as good as say with those
 § 7. in the Prophet, (q) *let us eat and*

(q) *Isai. 22. 13. drink for to morrow we die.* Being
 thus ripe for destruction, God was
 pleased to let them bring it upon
 themselves by a strange Infatuation.
 They were in fear of two Nations,

* § 6. p. 23. *selves so in their * last Invasion,*
 and were therefore the less likely
 to trouble them again; besides that
 a great part of those Nations was
 lately turned Christian. But how-
 soever, to secure themselves against
 them, they took a worse Enemy
 into their Bosome. The *Saxons*
 that lived upon the next *German*
 Shore, were a warlike People, that
 always kept the *Romans* upon their
 Guard, and had sometimes atta-
 qued them in this Island; they
 were also Enemies of the Christian
 Religion. Yet of these, they
 brought over some Troops, (r) a-
 bout the year of *Christ* 450. and
 gave them the Isle of *Tanet* for an
 habitation. It was a Quarter too
 far from those Parts which they
 were to defend; but it lay conve-
 nient

(r) *Bed. hist.*
l. 15. p. 57. Epit.
Beda. Ann. 409.
It should be 449.
So the Saxon
Chron.

nient enough for them to bring in
 more Company ; which they did,
 till they had made themselves too
 strong for the *Britans*. And then
 they made them see their folly ,
 when there was no remedy. Up-
 on a made quarrel, for want of Pay
 and Provisions, they made War
 upon them in a most Barbarous
 manner, (which *Gildas* as Tragical-
 ly describes,) and having slaughte-
 red a great part of them, drove the
 rest out of the best of their Coun-
 trey. But first, as (f) *Bede* saith, (f) *Bed. hist. I.*
 they had driven back the *Picts*, and ^{15. P. 58, 59.}
 afterward made a league with
 them : which doth not seem very
 probable, because there is nothing
 of it in *Gildas*. Sure enough they
 did not give them any share of their
 Conquest. For as the two *Friths*
 divided the *Picts* * anciently from
 the *Britans*, so they did afterward
 from them and the *Saxons*. We
 find that their bounds were the
 same when *Bede* writ his History,
 which was (t) in the year 731. For (t) *Bed. hist. V.*
 (u) then, he tells us, *Edenburgh* ^{24. P. 485.}
Frith lay between the *Saxons* and (u) *Ib. IV. 27.*
 the *Picts* ; and (x) he saith that at ^{P. 346.}
 the (x) *Ib. I. i. p. 24.*

* § 2.

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§ 8.

the other *Frith* the *Britans* yet held the strong City *Alcluith*, which from them was called *Dunbritton*, that is, the hill of the *Britans*.

§ 8. It was not long after the *Saxons* came over, that the *Scots*,
 * § 7. p. 24. who upon that repulse * before-mentioned were gone *home* (that is into *Ireland*) as (y) *Gildas* tells us, returned into *Britain*. This return was, to settle themselves in the Countrey; for there *Gildas* leaves them; So that no doubt they were there in his age. And therefore the time of their coming to settle in *Britain*, was, between the year 450. when the *Saxons* came hither, and the year 564. when *Gildas* wrote.

(y) *Gild.* Ib.
 p. 1008.

(z) § 5.

.To find the precise time of their coming, we must not look for any help from the *Scotish* Historians that have written within these 300 years. For they generally take it for granted, (z) (as I have shewn) that their coming into this Island was long before *Christ's* Incarnation: and upon this presumption they frame a long series of story, for which they have no ground in any ancient Writer now extant.

But

But that before that time there was a different tradition among themselves, it appears by those Rithmes which are quoted by (a) Archbishop *Usher* out of the *Scotichronicon*: wherein it is said that the Scots first coming into Argile was in the year 439. It is not improbable that their first coming to settle there might be in that year,

(a) *Usher. prim. p. 1023. Bis bis centeno, quater & deca, sed minus uno Anno quo sumit primos Argadia Scotos, Ut referunt isti, fuit Incarnatio Christi.*

by agreement with the *Picts* to share *Britain* between them, upon the Information they had that it was abandoned by the *Romans*. But before they had been long in possession, they found their measures would not hold, and therefore they returned Home into *Ireland*, some years after the year 439.

(b) I have shewn from our ancientest Writers. That their settling here was after that time, we have some reason to judge from their Conversion to the Christian Religion; which, according to all the Ancients, was before their coming into *Britain*. For, except those Legendary Writers, which (c) (as I have shewn elsewhere) ascribe it to them that brought the reliques of

(b) § 7.

(c) V. Preface.

St. An.

But

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(d) *Jocelini vita*
S. Patr. c. 137.

(e) *Uss. prim.*
p. 610.

(f) *Hell. Boeth.*
Scot. hist. l. 6.
fol. 114. l. 56. &
fol. 120. l. 80.

St. Andrew, there is none but makes St. Patrick the Apostle of the *Scotish Nation*. But what he did for their Conversion was in *Ireland*; and that before the time of their coming hither, if we may believe what we are told (d) in his Life. For there it is said, that upon the death of a King of *Dalried*, *Fergus*, the youngest of his Sons, being like to have no share of his Estate, came and made his complaint to St. Patrick: who, not onely got him considered in the distribution, but prophetically told him, *as mean as thou seemst to be now among thy Brethren, thou shalt shortly be the chief man among them; and out of thee shall come Kings that shall rule, not onely in their own, but in a remote and foreign Countrey*. It was not long after, saith the Authour, that this *Fergus* came to be King of *Dalried*, and his Seed reigned there after him for many Generations. This King, as (e) Bishop *Usher* observeth, was that *Fergus*, the Son of *Erc*, who first planted the *Scots* in this Island. The late (f) *Scotish* Historians, that make them to have been ancient Inha-

Inhabitants, and say they were driven out by * *Maximus* that kill'd * § 6. p. 17. their King *Eugenius* in battel, will have them restored by this *Fergus*, who (they say) was Grandchild to King *Eugenius*, about the year 422. that is, as they account, in the 44th or 45th year after their dis- seizure. Enough hath been said, in this and (g) the former Sections, (g) § 5. 6, 7. to refute that pretence of an ancient possession. But that *Fergus*, the Son of *Erc*, was the first of his race that reigned in *Scotland*, is proved by (h) Bishop *Usher* from an elder (h) *Uss.* prim. *Scotish* Writer that lived about 500 P. 610. years since; with whom agree the ancient *Irish* Genealogies, as he tells us. And that the beginning of his Reign in this Island was much later than the year that *Hector* mentioneth; namely, that it was in the time of Pope *Symmachus*, which began in the year 498. and that it was 20 years after the battel of *Oche*, which was fought in the year 483. So that his Kingdom in *Britain* was erected in the year 503. this (i) the (i) *Uss.* prim. same great Antiquary proves out of P. 1028, 1029. and 1122. the old *Irish* Writers, which herein agree

Chap. I. agree perfectly well among themselves, and are very consistent with all the other testimonies above-mentioned.

§ 9. Being thus assured of the time when the *Scots* were first seated in *Britain*; it may be next worth our enquiry to know, 1. What Countries they were possessed of at first, and 2. How afterwards they enlarged their quarters, till 3. at last they gave the name to so great a part of the Island.

I. Where the *Scots* first planted in *Britain*. If we had no account of the place, we should look for it somewhere near their own Country. And there is a part of *Britain* so near it, that (k) the Sea is

(k) *Heft. Boeth.*
Scot. descr. fol. 8.
lin. 10.

* § 6. p. 14.

(l) *Buchan. rer.*
Scot. l. 4. fol. 35.
l. 34.

(m) *Usser. de*
pri. p. 611.

not above 16 miles over between the two Islands. The next part of *Ireland* is that *Routh* * before-mentioned; which was anciently called *Dalrieda*, i. e. (l) the part or portion of *Ri Eda*, or King *Eda*, if there were any such person. But we are told by (m) Bishop *Ussher*, from the old *Irish* Genealogists, that there was such a person, Son of *Chonar* King of *Ireland*; and that his Father

her gave him the Dominion of
his Countrey, which descended
from him to *Fergus* being one of his
lineage. That from hence *Fergus*
brought his *Scots* into *Britain*, we
are told by (n) Bishop *Usher*, from
old *Irish Annals* that were written
(p) before the year 1100. these are
the words, *Fergus Mór Mac Erc*,
with the Nation of *Dalried*, held
part of Britain, and there dyed.
Whereas these *Scots* are there called
the Nation of *Dalried*, it seems to
me to interpret those words of (p)
Bede, where he saith of them in
Britain, they are called *Dalreudini*
in this day: it seems they brought
over their name with them, and
gave it to their Countrey in *Brit-
ain*, from which *Bede*, by † mi-
take, thought that they had re-
ceived it. But that here, as well as
in *Ireland*, their Countrey had the
name of *Dalried*, we find in the
quotation of * *Nennius* before men-
tion: and we find in the Lord
Burleigh's Manuscript, which
Cambden often quotes as a very an-
cient piece, that it was called (q)
the Kingdom of *Dalried*; which I

(n) *Usher. ib.*
p. 610. from
Tigernack's An-
nals.

(o) *Ware de*
script. Hib. l. 1.
p. 51.

(p) *Bed. hist.*
l. 1. p. 24.

† §. 6. p. 10.

* §. 5. p. 10.

(q) *Camd. Brit.*
p. 706.

D

take

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§. 9.

(r) *Camd. Ib.*
p. 682. in div.
Scotiz.

(s) *Camd. Brit.*
p. 707.

(t) *Adamn. vita*
Columbe II. 27.

(u) *Adamn. Ib.*
II. 12.

(x) *Uffer. de*
prim. p. 1022.

* § 3. p. 6, 7.
from *Bed. hist.*
III. 4. p. 168.

(y) *Bed. hist. I.*
p. 24.

take to be the same, that is, called *the Kingdom of Argile* (r) elsewhere in the same Manuscript. That this was their Seat, it farther appears, from the bounds that are given to their Countrey in *Britain*; both in the time of King *Fergus*, and afterwards, for some Hundreds of years. For (s) *Cambden* tells us from his Manuscript, that the bounds of King *Fergus's* Kingdom were from *Brun-Albain to the Sea of Ireland, and the Hebrides*: and we find in (t) *Adamnanus*, that beyond *Drum-Albain* was the Kingdom of the *North-Picts*; and (u) that the River *Nefs* was within the bounds of their Kingdom: and in a work of his which is not published (x) he saith, that the Mountains of *Drum-Albain* were between the *Scots* and the *Picts*. Which being compared with what hath been said before, that * in *Bede's* time those Mountains divided the *North-Picts* from the *South-Picts*; and again that (y) in his time the *Scots* dwelt Northwards of *Dunbritton-Frith*, by which they were separated from the *Britans*, who then lived South

of the *Frith*, and who had the City
of *Dunbritton* in their possession :
these things taken together make
it plain that the Kingdom of *Ar-*
gile, or *Dalried*, which was all
that the *Scots* had in *Britain*, was
divided Northward by *Loquhaber-*
hills from the *North-Picts*, East-
ward by *Lomond-hills* from the
South-Picts, Southward by *Dun-*
britton Frith from the *Britans*,
and Westward it was bounded with
the *Irish-Sea*. So that, as (z) Bishop (z) *Usser. de*
Usser well gather, it contain'd all prim. p. 612.
those Conntries that are now cal-
led *Cantire*, *Knapdale*, *Lorn*, *Ar-*
gile, and *Braid-Albain*, with the
neighbouring Isles. What he saith
of the *Isles*, must not be extended
so far: for (a) *Bede* saith the Isle (a) *Bed. hist.*
of *Hy*, which was one of the III. 3. p. 167.
nearest to *Dalried*, belong'd to the
North-Picts; and (b) was by their (b) *Bed. hist.*
King *Bridius* given to *Columba* for III. 4. p. 169.
his Monastery. But that all the
rest that he mentioneth belong'd
to the *Scots*, I am confirmed, by
that first division of *Scotland* that
(c) *Cambden* gives us out of his Ma- (c) *Camd. Brit.*
nuscript, which is onely the King- P. 682.
D 2 dom

Chap. I.

§ 10.

dom of the *Picts*, containing all beyond the two *Friths*, except those five Countries. And by what followeth there, in the second division, where the Kingdom of *Argile* is added by it self, it appears that this was all that the *Scots* had in *Britain*, till their Conquest of the *Picts*, which we are next to consider.

§ 10. I do not know that any ancient Writer hath mentioned the occasion of the *Scots* coming to live in this Island. But I find that which may afford us some ground for a probable conjecture at the reason of their coming. For (d) we are told, that when the *Saxons* had begun with the *Britans*, and had made some progress in conquering the Southern part of this Island, there came out of *Germany* a fresh party of them, in forty Keels (which was then a very great Fleet)

(d) *Nennii. c. 36.*
Cambridge MS.
c. 38.

(e) *Ib. trans mare Fresicum*, thus interpreted in *Camb. Brit. p. 688.*

(f) *Nenn. Ib. usque ad confinia Pictorum.*

(e) over *Edenburgh-Frith*, and possess themselves of divers Countries in this Island, (f) as far as the Confines of the *Picts*; that is, as I understand him, they Conquered those parts from the *Forth* to the *Tine*, which were afterwards called the Kingdom

dom of *Bernicia*; and there began the Dominion of the *Northumbrian* Saxons. This could not but give the *Picts* a very great apprehension of danger: and there was little hope of assistance from the *Britans*, from whom the *Saxons* had conquered those Countries. Therefore, I conjecture, they invited over that Colony of the *Scots*, being a people with whom they had been in League for many Ages, and had then received so many proofs of their Courage and Friendship. I rather believe this, because I do not find in ancient Writers that there was any breach between the two Nations, as there must have been if the *Scots* had come by force into their Countrey. And yet, the *Saxons* being wiser than to make too many Enemies at once, it doth not appear that these *Scots* had any occasion to shew their valour, till King *Ædan's* time. Then (g) in the year 603. (g) *Bed. hist.* (which I reckon to have been just l. 34. p. 103. a hundred years after their coming into *Britain*,) that Prince, having a jealousy of *Æthelfrid* King of the

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§. 10.

(h) *Bed. Ib.*
p. 105.* *Bed. hist. v.*
24. p. 484.(i) *Heß. Boeth.*
rer. Scot. fol.
176. 24. and
184. 50. and
185. 20.
Buchan. hist.
Scot. fol. 54.
80. and 55. 88.
and 56. 1.

Northumbrian Saxons growing too great for him, began a War; which was soon determined in one Battel, with the loss of his whole Army.

And from that time (saith (h) *Bede*, who writ above 120 years after) *there hath not been any King of the Scots that hath ventured to come into Britain to fight against the Nation of the English Saxons to this day.* To make this the more remarkable, saith, * *Bede*, toward the end of his History, *the Scots that dwell in Britain are content*

with their own quarters, and do not carry on Plots or Designs against the Nation of the English. Others (i) that lived eight or nine hundred years later, have told us of great Wars and Victories that they had within that space of time. But I should rather believe *Bede*, who lived then, and had spent all his time in their neighbourhood.

It seems the Scots were content with their quarters for near so much longer time after *Bede* had done writing. For in an hundred years more we find no change in the peopling of this Island, save what the

Saxons

Saxons made in going on with their Conquest upon the *Britans*. They had in (k) *Bede's* time driven them (k) *Bed. hist. III. 4. p. 169.* out of the Countrey of *Galloway*; and taken from them *Candida Casa*, or *Whithern*, which was their Episcopal See, and fill'd it with *Saxon* Bishops, (of whom our most learned (l) *Usher* hath gathered a Successi- (l) *Usher. de pri. P. 666.* on till after the year 800.) After *Bede's* death, in the year 750. They drove the *Britans* out of *Kyle*, and the other Countries thereabout; and added them to the Kingdom of Northumbria, as (m) we are told by (m) *Epit. Bede Continuat. Ann. 750. (n) Sim. Dunelm. hist. Reg. Angl. p. 105. 24. Hovedan. hist. p. 231. 26.* a Writer of that age. And (n) about six years after they took the City of *Alclud*, or *Dunbritton*; which perfected their Conquest of the Western-Lowlands, as they are now called. There yet remained another part of those that were called (o) the (o) *Sax. Chron. Ann. 875. and 924. Compare Asser. vita Alfr. p. 8. 40. and Flor. Wigorn. Ann. 875.* *Stratclud-wealas*, that is as I guess, the (p) *Cluidsdale Welsh* rather than (p) *Strath was a dale by a River; as, Strath-Ern, Strath Naver, &c.* the painted Britans, as *Whelock* rendreth it. These seem to have had their chief seat at *Glasco*, from whence their countrey extended to the South, toward *Cumbria*, which was another petty Kingdom

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of the *Britans*; and that reached as far as the Cross upon *Stanmore* in *Westmorland*. How they sped afterward, it shall be shewn in due time: but at present, they seem to have escaped by the dissentions that were among their Enemies; which dissentions afterward rose to that height, that in the year 794.

(q) *Flor. Wigorn.*
Ann. 794.

(q) *Ethelred* King of the *Northumbrians* was killed by his own People, their Bishops fled out of the Countrey, and the whole frame of their Government was dissolved:

(r) *Gul. Malm.*
hist. Reg. Ang.
I. 3. p. 13. 54.

So that (r) for three and thirty years they were a Prey and a Sport to all their neighbours, and they could never unite themselves more into one Body or Nation.

The mean while, about the year of Christ 800. The *Danes* began to make their inrodes into these Islands. Wheresoever they came at first, being Heathens, they fill'd all places with bloud, and left nothing but desolation behind them. But afterward they turn'd Christians, and then they contented themselves with the spoils and servitude of those Nations which they over-

came

came. Thus they were coming and going for more than 200 years: in which time all the Nations of these Islands had their turns to receive the Cup of God's wrath out of their hands. None tasted of it more favourably than the *Picts*; and yet, if it be true which (s) *John* (s) *Usser. de* of *Fordon* tells us, it was through prim. p. 716. ex *Scotichroni-* their means that the *Picts* became a co. Conquered people. He saith, that while they endeavoured to guard their Coasts against those cruel Barbarians, and lost a great part of their Military men in that Service, it so distracted and weakned them, that they were not able to defend themselves, but became an easie prey to a much weaker Enemy. *Alpin* the Son of *Achaius* King of the *Scots* (as (t) their Historians (t) *Buchan. rer,* tell us) being next heir by his Mo- Scot. fol. 56. & 57. ther, who was Sister to *Hungus* late King of the *Picts*, had been slain in asserting his Title to that Kingdom against one *Brudus* that held it from him by Usurpation. His Son and Successour *Kennedy* went on with the quarrel: and (as (u) *Fordon* (u) *Usser. Ib. ex* saith) *past over the Mountains that* Scotchron. *were*

Of the ancient Inhabitants

were in their *Confin*es, namely *Drum-Albin*, while the *Picts* were in that weakness and distraction. Having that advantage against them, he killed many of the *Picts*, and put the rest to flight, and so gain'd the Monarchy of both the Kingdoms. This was about the year 850. that is, near 120. years after *Bede's* time: so that till then the *Scots* were still content with their quarters; and *Fordon* sheweth it, in that they were got no farther than *Drum-Albin* at that time.

But we have better than his Authority to prove this, or else I should not be very confident of it. He quotes an ancient (x) verse, that saith this *Kennedy* was the first that reigned in *Albania*, meaning, I suppose, on the North and East sides of *Drum-Albin*. For so, in the old Manuscript quoted by (y) *Cambden*, it is said, that *the Kings of the seed of Fergus reigned in Drum-Albin till Alpin*, who was the last King that went no farther. And it is said (z) in the same Manuscript, that *Kennedy held the Kingdom of Dal-riada two years, before he came into the*

(x) *Usser. de Prim. p. 714. Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kennedy.*

(y) *Camb. Brit. p. 707.*

(z) *Camb. Brit. p. 706.*

the Picts Countrey. But I shewed that *Dalried* extended no farther than from *Drum-Albin* to *Dunbritton-Frith* and the *Irish* Sea; and here we see that the *Scots* had still the same bounds, till upon this new Conquest the *Picts* were incorporated with them into one Nation.

§ 12. Now the *Scots* had all the North part of this Island beyond *Grames-dike*; that is, they had all that was contain'd in (a) the *second* (a) *Camd. Brit. p. 682.* division of *Scotland*; and yet * *§ 4 P. 9.* their Kingdom was not called *Scotland* in any writing that is extant, of that age. Before it came to that, it had (as I am now to shew) all the other parts added to it that are known by that name. First, the *Saxons* Kingdom of *Northumbria* being * broken in pieces, (b) it * *p. 40.* is said that all that part of it which (b) *Camd. Brit. p. 692. Uffer. Brit. Eccl. p. 667.* we call the *Western Lowlands*, being so far sever'd from the rest that it could have no help out of *England*, was either seized by the *Irish*, or put it self under their protection; From whom *Whithern* the Bishops See, and the Countrey about it, were called by the name of *Galloway*,

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(c) As the *Picts*-
wall was called
Scots-waith, and
the *Forth* called
Scots-wade.

Camd. Brit. p.
648. & 682.

(d) *Saxon. Chro.*
Flor-Wigorn.

(e) *Hen. Hun-*
tington. p. 203. 9.

(f) *Camd. Brit.*
p. 370.

loway, in Latin *Gallovidia* or *Gallo-*
vedia; that is (c) *Gallwaith* or *Gall-*
wade, the *work* or the *walk* of the
Gael, as the *Irish* call themselves.
But from them, being no Military
people, it was no hard matter for
the *Scots* to get it into their pos-
session, as we are certain they did
after the year 850. though we have
no account of the time, or any
other particulars. Next, for what
was left to the *Britans*, which was
all comprehended under the name of
Cumbria, we read (d) that *Edmond*
King of the *English Saxons*, having
Conquered it, in the year 945. gave
it to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, on
Condition that he should fight for
him by Land and by Sea; that is,
that he should help and defend the
North parts of *England* against the
Danes, as 'tis (e) elsewhere explain'd.
And we read that after his death the
next year the *Scots* did homage for
it to *Edred* his Son and Successour.
How the County of *Cumberland*
was afterward changed for that of
Huntington, the Reader may see
in (f) *Camden*, but that doth
not belong to my purpose. In the
year

year 960. *Edenburgh* was delivered up by the *English* to *Indulph* King of the *Scots*, and hath ever since remain'd in their possession, as (g) *(g) Camd. Brit. Cambden* tells us out of that ancient *P. 689.* *MS.* of the division of *Scotland*. Lastly, the rest of *Lothien* or *Lauden* was granted (h) by King *Edgar* (h) *Matt. West-monast. p. 376.* to *Kennedy* King of the *Scots*, on condition, that he should attend him at Court upon all Collar-days: I suppose the meaning was by this grant, as well as by that of *Cumbria*, to oblige the *Scots* to help and defend the North parts of *England* against the *Danes*, of whom they were in continual danger in those times. What my Authour saith of *Lauden* in this place was meant for all the *East-Lowlands*, according to the ancient extent of the word: For the people of all that Countrey between *Twede's* mouth and *Edenburgh-Frith* were called *Ladeni* by the *Romans*, saith (i) *Cambden*: who (i) *Camd. Brit. P. 685.* also saith, that all that Countrey was called *Lauden* by the Writers of the middle age. We have an instance of this last in (k) *Nennius*, (k) *Nennius c. 61. in Camd. MS. c. 64.* who placeth *Wedale* in the Province
of

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§. 13.

(l) *Matt. Paris.*
hist. Angl.
Ann. 1251.
p. 829. 49.

(m) *Stubs.*
de Ebar. p. iii.
57. & 1743.
4. & 1746. 24.
Hoveden. hist.
p. 550. & 579.
& 714.

of *Lauden*, and yet but six miles from *Mailros*. And that this Province was held by grant from the Kings of *England*, we find (l) acknowledged by *Alexander* King of the *Scots*, who did Homage to his Father-in-law *Henry* the third for this Province, but refused to do the like for his Kingdom. So likewise in Ecclesiastical things, the Bishopricks of *Glasco*, and *Candida Casa* (or *Galloway*), which had been formerly erected by the *Britans*, and being taken from them by the *Saxons*, were now come into the hands of the *Scots*, (m) were both of them subject without contradiction to the Archbishop of *Tork* as their Metropolitan for many Ages: But when he, or the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, demanded the like Obedience of all the Bishops of *Scotland*, it was refused, as being an encroachment upon the ancient Liberty of the *Scotish* Church.

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By the additon of these Provinces the *Scots* were come to have a very considerable part of this Island. And as the *Picts* before were taken into their body, so were

were now the *Cluidsdale-Welsh*, and *Cumbrian Britans*, and the *Bernician-Saxons*, who, together with those *Danes* that settled among them, were more in number than all the rest. The *Saxons* had this peculiar to themselves, that they kept their Language without any great alteration; which came in a short time to be used by all the Southern *Scots*; because it was the Language of another great Nation so near them upon the same Continent. But they and all the rest were called by the name of *Scots*; for that was the people that had the chief share in the Government, and went for all in their Treaties with Foreign Nations. So that now a great People in this Island being called by the same name that those were in *Ireland*, to distinguish the one People from the other, these being called *Scots*, those in *Ireland* were called the *Irish Scots*, or *Irish* without any addition: and the Island where they dwelt, being sufficiently known by the ancient name of *Ireland*, began to lose the other name by which it had been called for

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§ 1.

for many Ages; and so the name of *Scotland* came in time to be appropriated to the Countrey which we call *Scotland* at this day.

C H A P. II.

Of the Conversion of these Nations to the Christian Faith.

§ 1. **T**H E first that received the Christian Faith in this Island, were those *Britans* that lived under the *Roman Empire*.

(n) *Euseb. demonstr. Evang. III. p. 112. D. Theodoret. de Cur. Gr. Affect. S. IX. Tom. IV. p. 610. B.*

It is very probable that it was (n) brought hither by some of the Apostles, or at least by some other that lived soon after their times. But that does not concern our Question to enquire, how soon, or through whose hands the Christian Religion came hither. No doubt there were Christians here, and that in considerable numbers, in (o) *Tertul-*

(o) *Tertull. cont. Jud. c. 7. p. 212. D. & 213. A.*

(p) *Origen. in Ezek. hom. 4. fol. 139. E. & in Luc. hom. 6.*

lian's, and in (p) *Origen's* days. And (which is sufficient for our purpose) we find by sure proofs that Christianity flourished here before it came to be the established Religion at *Rome*, which was in the Reign of *Constantine* the first Christian

stian Emperour. Here in *Britain* it was that his Father *Constantius* (p) lived the latter part of his Reign; which was to the great advantage of that Religion, (q) so much favoured by him that he would suffer no man to dye for it in his Dominions. Here it was (r) in the City of *Tork* that *Constantius* died; and that his Son *Constantine*, (s) with great consent of all men, for the love that they bore to his Father, took upon him the Title of *Cæsar*. From hence (t) he had the main of the Army that was to defend his Title against *Maxentius* that set up an opposite title at *Rome*; and it was (u) in their presence that he first declared himself a Christian; which it is not likely that he would have done so publicly, and in such Circumstances, if he had not been sure that his Army was of the same Religion. After this time *Britain* being always under the *Roman* Emperours till the inundation of the barbarous Nations, there is no reason to doubt that in this, as well as in all the other *Roman* Provinces, Christianity was the Establi-
E shed

(p) *Zosim. hist.*
l. 2. p. 688. 23.

(q) *Euseb. hist.*
VIII. 13. p. 309.
C. & de vita
Const. M. I. 13.

(r) P. 413. C. D.
Lactant. de
mort. perfec.
c. 15. *Optat. de*
Schism. I. 1.
p. 25. *Sozomena*
hist. I. 6.

(s) P. 407. C.
(r) *Eutrop. hist.*
Lib. 10. & alii
V. *Usser. de*
prim. p. 173.

(f) *Euseb. de*
vita Const. M.
I. 22. p. 419. B.
(t) *Zosim. hist.*
l. 2. p. 676. 7.

(u) *Euseb. Ib. I.*
37. p. 426. B.
Lactant. de
mort. perfec.
c. 44.

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§ 3.

shed Religion; and that it was in all points the same Christianity that was in this and all the other Provinces.

§ 2. The South-Picts, who inhabited that part of *Scotland* which was next to the *Britans*, received the Christian Faith at their hands.

(x) *Bed. hist. III.*
4. p. 169. *Saxon.*
Chron. Ann. 560.

Beda (x) tells us, that in the year 412. St. *Nennianus* a *Britan* brought up at *Rome*, was the Authour of their Conversion, and that at his Preaching they left the error of Idolatry, and received the belief of the Truth. There is no reason to doubt that the Religion which he planted there among the *Picts*, was the same that was established by Law at *Rome* it self, and in the Civilized *Britain*, and in all other Provinces of the Empire.

Chap. I. § 6.

§ 3. The *Scots*, who (as I shewed before) lived then in *Ireland*, were also converted by *Britans* that were Subjects of the *Roman Empire*. I do not say, but that some of these *Scots* might be Christians before those *Britans* came among them. For I dare not wholly reject those (y) *Irish Legends*, of *Kiaranus*, *Ailbeus*,

(y) *Usser. de*
prim. p. 789.
&c.

in Great Britain and Ireland.

Ailbeus, Declanus, and Ibarus, who are said to have been all of the *Irish* Nation, and to have gone and lived at *Rome* for some years, and there to have been ordained Bishops, about the year of *Christ* 400. and from thence to have been sent into *Ireland*, where they made Conversions, and founded the Sees of *Ossory, Ardmore, Lismore* and *Beckerin*. But though the effect of their Labours is said to have been very considerable in some parts of *Ireland*, yet according to those Legends they came very short of converting the body of the Nation.

§ 4. *Palladius*, to whom others ascribe their Conversion, was he that (being then a Deacon at *Rome*, as (2) *Prosper* tells,) in the year 429. got *Pope Coelestin* to send *Germanus* and *Lupus* to purge *Britain* of the *Pelagian* Heresie. And the same *Prosper* (a) saith, in the year 431. that this *Palladius* being ordained a Bishop by *Pope Coelestin*, was the first that was sent to the *Scots* that believed in *Christ*. Again *Prosper* saith (b) elsewhere of that *Pope*, having

(2) *Prosper. Chri. Coll. Florentio & Dionysio Aetione Palladii Diaconi Papa Coelestini Germanum Antistiodorensis Episcopum vice sua mittit, & de turbatis Hereticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigit.*

(a) *Prosper. Chri. Coll. Basso & Antiocho. Ad Scotos in Christum Credentes ordinatus a Papa Coelestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur.*

(b) *Prosper. cont. Collat. c. 41. Ordinatio Scottis Episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, sectam etiam Barbaram Christianam.*

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§ 4.

(c) *Vopisc. in Floriano*, p. 231.
D. Gild. de excid. Brit. p. 1005.
 (d) *Gildas* lb. p. 1007. calls the Scots *Barbaricas feras*.
 * Chap. I. § 4.

(e) *Beda, Ado, &c.*

ordained a Bishop for the Scots, while he endeavours to keep the Roman Island Catholick, he hath also made the Barbarous Island Christian: where, as by the Roman Island he means *Britain*, which (c) other Writers likewise call by that name; so by the Barbarous Island oppos'd to it, he means (d) *Ireland*, as I have * already had occasion to shew. This last passage, which bringeth both the others together, was writ in the beginning of Pope *Xystus* the Successour of that *Cælestin*; that is, about two years after the sending of *Palladius* on this message. And these three Quotations are much the more to be considered, because they came from one that, not onely knew what he writ, for he lived in publick business at that time, but that is the fountain from whom (e) all others have taken what they have written of this matter. What others say of *Palladius* and his Mission, I shall consider hereafter. But at present I bring these passages together to prove these three things, which will be of very great Consequence in our business.

I. That

1. That *Palladius* was of the British Nation and Religion.

2. That he was sent, not into Scotland, but into Ireland.

3. To these I shall add, that for making Ireland Christian, though *Prosper* might well enough say that Pope *Cælestin* did it, yet it was not done by *Palladius*, but by another that was sent after him.

I. For the first of these things, that *Palladius* was a *Britan*, it is that which (f) some have affirmed, (f) *Usser. de prim. p. 802. and 1043.* and may seem probable from the care that he took to get this Island rid of *Pelagianism*. For otherwise, it would be hard to imagine why he, living at *Rome*, should so far concern himself for a place so remote, and which was then almost as good as lost from the Empire : Or how, being but a Deacon, he could follow this suit with such effect as to get the Pope to engage in it ; much more why he should be Chronicled for it, that it was done onely at his suit. His mission afterward into Ireland is some Confirmation of this that he was born in *Britain* ; but much more that which fol-

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§ 4.

lowed, If it were true, that failing in the design of his Mission he came at last to dye in this Island.

II. For the second thing, that his mission was, not into *Scotland*, but into *Ireland*; that is so plain in *Prosper's* words, that none that lived in his age could mistake them. For, where should they look for the *Scoti*, but in *Scotia*? as I have * shewed that *Ireland* was then called, There *Prosper* placeth these *Scoti* in the Barbarous Island, as he calleth it, and not in the Roman Island, as there he calleth *Britain*.

† P. 52.

III. Thirdly, whereas *Prosper* saith, that † that *Barbarous Island* was made *Christian* by Pope *Cælestin*; he could not probably mean that it was done while *Cælestin* was living, much less that it was converted by *Palladius*, whom he sent thither. For considering how short a time there was between his mission into *Ireland*, and the time when *Prosper* writ this, it cannot seem very likely that he could convert any considerable number there within that time. But that he should go on so far in the work as to make

the

the Island Christian, seems to me to be next to impossible. Especially, if we take in that which hath been said of *Palladius* by others of the most ancient Writers. For they tell us, as I am * about to shew, * P. 57. that he found the People in *Ireland* so averse from the Christian Religion, that he could doe no good upon them, or so little, that it was not worth mentioning; and that therefore he gave over his design, and intended to return back to *Rome*; but that taking his way through *Britain*, he died there in the Countrey of the *Picts*, or in or near their Confines: and all this within the year of his Mission.

It was in the year 431. (as † *Pro-* † P. 51. *sper* saith, who could not want information in this matter,) that *Palladius* was ordain'd, and sent into these Parts by Pope *Cælestin*. The same (g) *Prosper* saith in his Chron- (g) *Prosp. Chro.* nicle, that Pope *Cælestin* died the Ann. 432. next year, in which we are therefore to place the beginning of Pope *Xystus* that was his immediate Successour. And yet in (h) another Book (h) *Prosp. contra* the same Authour saith, that *Cæle-* Collat. c. 41.

Chap. II. *stin* ordaining a Bishop for the Scots,
 § 4. *made the Barbarous Island Christian.*

(i) *Ib. c. 1.*

(k) *Usser. de
 prim. p. 365.*

(l) *Prosper. Ib.
 c. 44.*

(m) *Nennius
 c. 52. in B. Usser's
 Copy, c. 55. in
 Cambr. MS.
 Missus est Palla-
 dius Episcopus
 Primitus à Cœle-
 stino Episcopo &
 Papa Romano
 ad Scotos ad
 Christum con-
 vertendos. Sed
 prohibuit illum
 Dominus.—*

If we consider when this last Book was writ, it will appear that this Conversion that he speaks of, if it was true, was very sudden. For it was writ (as he (i) there saith,) within *little more than twenty years* after St. *Austin* was engaged against *the Enemies of the grace of God*; that is, within such a space of time after the year 412, or 413. as Bishop (k) *Ussher* observes: and consequently, in the very beginning of the time of Pope *Xystus*, as *Prosper* there (l) adds, while the World was yet in expectation what he would doe against the *Pelagians*. But if we may believe the most ancient Writers that say any thing of *Palladius* which is not in *Prosper*, they tell us on the contrary, that there was no such sudden Conversion in *Ireland*; nay, that *Palladius* did nothing there that was considerable. For these are the words of (m) *Nennius*, who is the most ancient Authour that I know: Having said that *Bishop Palladius was sent at first* (before *Patrick*) by *Cœlestin the Roman Bishop*

Bishop and Pope to convert the Scots to Christ; He addeth, that the Lord hindred him by certain Tempests, for no man can receive any thing upon Earth, unless it be given from Heaven above; whereupon that Palladius went from Ireland, and came into Britain, and died there in the Land of the Picts. In like manner saith

(n) Probus in the Life of St. Patrick: (n) Probus vita
Palladius had been sent [before him] Patr. lib. 1.
by Pope Cœlistin to convert this Col. 229.

Island; but God hindred him from converting that Nation (of the Scots;) for (o) those rugged and wild (o) Ib. immites
men would not receive his Doctrine, & feri homines
nor would he stay any long time in a nolebant.

Land which was not his; but was disposed to return to him that sent him: and when, in order to this, Palladius had past the Sea, and was come to the Confines of the Picts, there he di-

ed. In like manner (p) Jocelin saith, (p) Jocelin. vita
that because the Irish believed not his Patricii, c. 25.
Preaching, but most obstinately op- Hibernis vero
posed him, he departed from their prædicationi non
Countrey; and in his way to Rome, obstinatissime op-
he died in Britain, near the Confines pugnantibus, a
of the Picts. More Authours might regione illorum
be produced to this purpose: but discessit.

these

Chap. II.

§ 4.

these are enough, to shew that he could doe no great matters in *Ireland*, and therefore whatsoever Pope *Cælestin* did there, he must doe it by other hands.

To bring us yet nearer to an end of this matter, we are assured that Pope *Cælestin*'s death was within a year, or little more, of the time when he sent *Palladius* on his mission. For, as * *Prosper* tells us, his mission was in the year 431. So

* P. 51.

(q). *Prosp. Chro.*
& Marcellin. Co-
mes. Ann. 432.

(q) he and others assure us that *Cælestin* died the next year. And his death was on the sixth day of *April*, as we are told in the Pontifical. But it will presently appear that *Palladius* died so long before him, that this Pope had the news of his death; and was thereupon moved to send *Patrick* to succeed him in the mission. This gives a great colour of Truth to that which (r) *Bale* tells us, that the death of *Palladius* was on the 15th of *December*. For that notation of time is very consistent with all that hath been said by the Ancients of this matter. There was time enough between that and the sixth of *April*, for *Patrick* to hear of his

(r) *Baleus de*
script. XIV. 6.
ending.
Usser. de prim.
p. 814, 836.

his death, and afterward to go to Rome and receive any thing from Pope *Cælestin* before his death. There was also time enough in the year 431. before the 15th of December, for *Palladius* to receive his mission at Rome, and to try what he could doe in Ireland, and finding no success there, to come and die in this Island of Britain. All this might come within so short a time as that was, between his mission in the fore-part of the year, and his death on the 15th of December following. I confess it doth not so well consist with their *Hypothesis*, that make *Palladius* the Founder of *Episcopacy* in that part of Britain which is now called Scotland: much less with the Fancy of their prime Authour (f) *Boethius*, that makes him baptize one *Tervanus* there in his Infancy, and afterward consecrate the same Person Archbishop; this was more than could well be done in part of a year. Nor can it well be reconciled with that which *Prosper* saith of Pope *Cælestin*, that by ordaining a Bishop for the Scots he made the Barbarous

(f) *Heft. Boeth.*
Scot. hist. l. 7.
fol. 128.

Chap. II. *barous Island Christian.* For if he
 § 5. meant this of *Palladius*, then their
 conversion in *Ireland* must be
 within a small part of a year : and
 that is so extremely improbable,
 that, beside that we have all those
 Authours against it, for the very
 improbability of the thing it self, I
 know not how to believe it. I
 should rather think (t) with Bishop
 (t) *Usher*, that those words were one-
 prim. p. 798. ly a good Omination of *Prosper's*
 upon the sending of *Palladius* thi-
 ther, possibly upon his hearing at
 first better news than proved after-
 wards true : or it must have been
 written with respect to that mis-
 sion of *Patrick*, which though not
 mentioned by *Prosper*, because per-
 haps this *Patrick* was a stranger at
Rome, yet it might be sufficiently
 implied in those words of his *Chro-
 nicon*, if they are *Prosper's*, concer-
 ning *Palladius*, that he was sent to
 the Scots the First Bishop.

§ 5. It appears by these words, that
 there was sent to the Scots by Pope
Cælestin another Bishop after *Palla-
 dius* ; and this is all that can be ga-
 thered from them without the help
 of

of other Books. But we find by a general consent of the Ancients that this other Bishop was St. *Patrick*, who was sent to the *Scots* by that Pope after the death of *Palladius*.

Thus (u) *Nennius* goeth on, in the place before-mentioned, upon the news of the death of Bishop *Palladius*, Patrick, another Agent is sent by *Cœlestin*, Pope of Rome, to convert the Scots to the Faith of Christ. Thus likewise the before-mentioned * *Probus*, and *Jocelin*, together with many other ancient

(u) *Nennius*
c. 53. al. 56.
audita morte Pal-
ladii Episcopi,
Alius legatus Pa-
tricius— à Cœ-
lestino Papa Ro-
mano ad Sco-
tos convertendos
in fidem Christi
mittitur.

* P. 57.

Writers, whom (x) Bishop *Usher* hath collected to prove this. Parti-

(x) *Usher. de*
prim. p. 814.

cularly (y) *Marianus Scotus*, whom I mention as being the ancientest that is extant of that Nation, saith, that after *Palladius* was Patrick, a Britan by Nation, consecrated by Pope *Cœlestin*, and sent to be Archbishop of Ireland. Where *Marianus Scotus* saith he was a Britan; and yet others say he was a Scot; we are to understand it, as (z) Bishop

(y) *Mar. Scot.*
Ann. 432. Post
ipsum S. Patrici-
us fuit, genere
Brito, à S. Cœle-
stino Papa conse-
cratus, & ad
Archiepiscopatum
Hiberniensem
mittitur.

Usher there shews, that he was born in that part of Britain which is since called Scotland. For his birth was at *Nemthur*, now called

(z) *Usher. de*
prim. p. 820,
821.

Kirk-

Chap. II. *Kirk-Patrick*, near *Grayham's-dike*;
 § 6. which was in the Land of the *Bri-*

* § p. 57. *tans*, but in or near the Confines
 of the *Picts*, as * those Writers de-
 scribe the place of *Palladius* his
 death. *Patrick* was then in *France*,
 where he had made his studies, un-
 der his Mother's Uncle *St. Martin*;
 and had taken all his Orders of
 Deacon, Priest and Bishop, as I

† Chap. IV. § 3. shall † shew in due place. But
 hearing there of the death of *Palla-*
dus, (which might come the soo-
 ner to him, if *Palladius* died, as I
 suppose he did, there among his
 Relations,) thereupon *Patrick* went
 to Pope *Cælestin*, and obtain'd the
 like assistences from him as *Palla-*
dus had formerly received. And
 therewith going to *Ireland*, (which
 he seems to have better understood,
 because being taken captive here-
 tofore, he had lived there for some
 years,) he bestowed his labours so
 successfully with God's blessing,
 that, as * *Prosper* saith, he indeed
 made the *Barbarous Island Christian*,
 and is therefore justly accounted
 the Apostle of that Nation.

* P. 52.

§ 6. After these Conversions, first
 of

in Great Britain and Ireland.

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of the *South-Picts*, in *Britain*, and then of the *Scots* in their *Ireland*, (both which Conversions hapned in one Age, and within a few years of one another,) it was yet above a hundred and twenty years that the *North-Picts* still continued in their state of Gentilism. And then, about the year 560. St. *Columba*, who was a *Scot*, came over (a) out of *Ireland*, and having obtained the Isle of *Hy*, where he founded a Monastery, he and the Monks that he brought with him (b) converted King *Brudius* and his Nation to the Faith of Christ.

(a) *Adamnan. vita Columb. I. 1. de Scotia in Britanniam.*

(b) *Bed. hist. III. 4. P. 169.*

I desire the Reader to take notice that this Conversion was not from the *Pelagian* Heresie, as some (c) late Authours would have it, but from downright Gentilism. This we are told by a Writer who was one of the best able to inform us, namely by *Adamnanus*, who was one of *Columba's* Successours in his Monastery. He (d) tells us, that King *Brudius* was a Heathen, and so were * his People, till *Columba* * came thither and made them Christians. So likewise *Bede*, who had great

(c) *Hest. Boeth. Scot. hist. I. 2. fol. 172. 34.*

(d) *Adamn. vita Columb. II. 22.*

* *Ib. II. 10, 18, 19, 21.*

Chap. II. great opportunity to inform himself, both as being so near those times, and as having been much conversant with that People. His

§ 7.

(e) *Bed. hist. V.*
10. p. 402.

(e) words are, that *Columba* was the first Teacher of the Christian Faith to the *North-Picts* that dwell beyond the Mountains.

§ 7. In this interval of time, between these two last Conversions of the *Scots* and *Northern Picts*, the *Roman* Province of *Britain* was * quite rent away from the *Roman* Empire; and not onely the Countries between this and *Rome* were unpassable, by reason of the inundation of the Barbarous Nations, but even *Italy* it self had divers times changed its Lords, till at last it came to settle under the *Greek* Emperours, * little more than twenty years before this last Conversion. So that for near a hundred years, there was almost no possibility of communication between *Rome* and the *Britans*; and therefore it was no wonder if there was grown a great strangeness between them. Besides, in that interval of time, the *Roman Church* was much altered

† Under *Justinian*.

tered from what it was formerly,
that it was scarce to be known by
them that had not seen it in many
years: it was grown very much in
Stature, and had, as it were, ano-
ther Countenance in the outward
face of it's Communion.

Rome began to shoot up at the
time of the *Sardican* Council;
when * that Canon was made in * *Conc. Sardic.*
favour of that See, which, about, *can. 7.*
sixty years after, Pope *Zosimus*
would fain (f) have persuaded the (f) *Zosim. Com-*
African Fathers to have taken for *monit. in Conc.*
a Canon of the first *Nicene* Coun- *Carth. VI. Cap. 3.*
cil. But as they would not swal-
low that Gudgeon, so neither would
the *Gallican* Bishops by their good
will: but they were forced to that
or worse, by *Valentinian* the third;
who being a weak and vitious Prince,
thought to strengthen himself by
humouring that See, which had so
great an Influence on his Empire.
And no doubt, that (g) Novel of his, (g) *Novella Va-*
giving the Bishop of *Rome* an Au- *lent. III. in Con-*
tority over all Bishops in his Domi- *cil. Tom. III. fol.*
nion, which at that time consisted *1401. Edit.*
of *Italy, Spain, France*, and part of
Illyricum, might occasion the Barba-
F roys

Chap. II.

§ 7.

rous Nations, who soon after overrun all those Countries, to have a great opinion, and even a veneration for the *Roman* See. They were converted to that opinion, and Christianity together, by those Bishops whom they found upon the place in their conquests: And being wholly ignorant of Antiquity, and more intent on other things, they did not trouble themselves with Church-matters. But the *Britans*, whom the Emperour had left to themselves * before that Law was

*Cha.I. §. 6.

made, might very well be ignorant of it: and therefore continuing in their Primitive Liberty, a Hundred and fifty years after this, when Pope *Gregory* the first would make *Austin* the Monk their Archbishop, (b) they told him plainly *We will not be thy Subjects; they knew of no Authority he had over them.*

(b) *Bed. hist.*
II. 4.

§ 7. In like manner, within that Interval of time, there were many things changed in the *Roman* Communion; which, after they had continued an Age or two in their Church, themselves did not know, or would not own, to be alterations.

ons. This appeared especially, in the Rule that they had for the finding out of *Easter*, and of all their other moveable Feasts. They (i) found it by a Cycle of 84 years, (i) *Bed. hist. V.* which was called *the Roman Account* 22. P. 429. (k) so lately as in Pope *Leo's* time. (k) *Bucher. de Canone Pasch. P. 138, and 190. Usher Religion of Ireland c. 9. p. 93. Stillingfleet. answer to S. C. P. 319; &c.* The *Scots* and *South-Picts* used the same Cycle from the time of their conversion; and so did the *Britans*, without any manner of alteration: But about 80 years after the renting of the *Roman Empire*, the *Romans*, having left off the use of that Cycle, took up another of 19 years; which though it was better in many respects, yet was new in these parts, and made a great difference from the former. And when the *Romans* had used this new Cycle another 80 years, coming then to have to doe with these Northern Nations, they would needs have imposed the use of it upon them, as a condition of their Communion. They did indeed face them down with (l) two things (l) *Bed. hist. III. 25. P. 235, 236.* which were palpably false: one was, that the *Romans* had received their Cycle by Tradition from Saint *Peter*;

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§. 8.

(m) Bucher. Ib.

Peter; the other, that it was made use of every where except in these Islands. To the first of these Assertions, the *Scots*, for want of knowing better, opposed onely the Authority of Saint *John* for their Cycle; as to the other, they could not tell what to say: whereas in truth, though they did not know it, the *Roman* Account came but an Age or two before from *Alexandria*, and was not yet received in all the Western Church, (m) not in some part of *France* in particular; but that in use among the *Scots* was the same Cycle that they and the *Britans* had ever used since their Conversion, and it was the same that was anciently used in the *Roman* Church.

§ 8. By these Instances it sufficiently appears, that though *Rome* had not yet proceeded so far as to make new Articles of Faith, (for that was not done by any Act of the Church, that we reade of, in a 1000 years after Christ's time,) yet she had made great alterations in other things, and made bold to impose them on other Churches as con-

conditions of her Communion. It appears that these Northern Churches were shut out of her Communion, they were (n) called the *Schismaticks* of *Britain* and *Ireland*; for no other reason, but onely because they would not receive these alterations, nor submit to the Authority by which they were imposed. They on the other hand were not willing to break Communion, but continued it with them that kept *Easter* with the *Romans*, as some did, without abetting their usurpation. Thus the *British* Bishops joyn'd in the Office of Ordination with *Wini*, a *Saxon*, that was (o) made Bishop in *France*. Thus (p) the *Scots* helpt *Birinus* to convert the *West-Saxons*, though he had been made Bishop in *Italy*. Nay (q) they joyn'd in Communion with them of *Kent*, that had been converted immediately from *Rome*; and never broke with them till they were forced to it, as I shall shew in * due place. Wheresoever they found the *Roman* Tyranny abetted against them, there indeed they stood upon their Terms, and (r) laid

(n) *Steph. Hedd.*
life of *Wilfrid.*
n. 5. *Usher*
Relig. of *Ireland*
c. 10. p. 106.

(o) *Bed. hist.*
III. 28. p. 247.
(p) *Ib.* III. 7.
p. 176.

(q) *Ib.* III. 25.
p. 233.

* Chap. V.
§. 5. 7.

(r) *Usher's Rel.*
of *Ireland.*
c. 10. p. 109.

Chap. II. the Schism upon them that were
 §. 8. the cause of it, and (f) would *no*
 (f) *Bed. hist II.* more Communicate with them than
 20, p. 158. *with Pagans*, as *Bede* tells us. The
Scots of South-Ireland stood thus
 little more than 30 years after
Austin came over: All the other
 (t) Till the year *Scots* and the *Picts* held out (t)
 716. saith *Bed.* near a hundred years longer: But
 III. 4. p. 1. 9. the *Britans* (u) much above 200
 (u) *Usher Relig.* years. And yet the Churches that
 of Ireland. c. 10. stood at this distance from *Rome*,
 all the while continued (x) Com-
 (x) *Bed. hist. III.* munion with each other, and kept
 25. p. 234. *hos* their Religion the same in all
 (Scotos) *tantum* points that it was when the *Roman*
 & *obstinationis* Empire stood, and the same that
eorum complices, was anciently in the purer *Roman*
Pictos dico & Church.
Britones, &c.

C H A P. III.

*Of the ancient Church-Government
in these Nations; and first among
the Britans.*

§. I. **H**AVING shewn that the Christian Religion here in *Britain*, was the same that was in all other Provinces of the *Roman* Empire; and that while the Empire stood the Christians of this and the other Provinces were all in Communion together; this alone were sufficient to prove that they had the same kind of Church Government: and that Government, at least from the time that Christianity came to be the established Religion, being unquestionably in other Provinces a Diocesan Episcopacy; not onely in Name, but in Authority, the same that is now in these Kingdoms; it would be reasonable to judge that there was the same Government here in *Britain*, though for want of ancient Writings there could be produced no plain instances of it.

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§ 2.

But (as it hath pleased God) there is no want of such instances, to prove, that Episcopacy was settled here as it was in other Countries.

§. 2. First, we find at the Council of *Arles*, (which was called by *Constantine* the Great in the year 314.) as there were some of all the three Orders out of every one of the Western Provinces, so there were

(y) Concil. *Arles*.
lat. I. subscript.
post Canones.
* *Jones* Hearts
Sov. p. 137.

(y) out of *Britain*, three Bishops, one Priest, and one Deacon. These Bishops were (as * *Mr. Jones* observes with great probability,) the Bishops of the three Metropolitcal Cities. Two are certain, namely those of *London*, and *York*; and for the third, which was from a Colony, he might probably be of *Caerleon*. Under these three Metropo-

(z) *Gildas* de excid. Brit. l. 1. saith there were 28 Cities in *Britain*. Uss. prim. c. 5. p. 57. from *Gild. de viſtoria Aur. Ambrosii* l. 7. and from the *British Chron.* &c. shews that they were all Episcopal Sees.

litans there (z) are said to have been twenty five other Bishops; which, considering that the Province reached Northward as far as *Graham's Dike*, was much about the same number that is now in that Compass of land; and therefore also the Dioceses of those Bishops were one with another of equal extent with the Dioceses that are now in this Kingdom.

§ 3. What

§ 3. What the power of each Bishop was then in his Diocese, it may partly be understood from the 18th. Canon of that Council; which being so very corrupt that it is hardly sense in the Common Editions of the Councils, I shall here set it down (a) as it is in that ancient Manuscript of the Councils in the Library at Sarum, which was writ before the Norman Conquest, as far as I can judge by the Character. These are the words of it, *For the Deacons of Rome, that they take not upon them there on their own account, but that honour be reserved to the Presbyters. And that the Presbyters doe nothing without leave of the Bishop.* The last words, which set forth the Episcopal power, are the same in effect with those (b) in the Epistles of Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, which have been often produced in defence of the Episcopal Authority. No man that considers the Antiquity of that Father, who died within ten years after Saint John the Apostle, can doubt whether his kind of Episcopacy were the Government that the Apostles

(a) Concil. Arelat. I. Can. 18. De Diaconibus Urbicis, ut non aliquid pro se ibi praesumant, sed honor Presbyteris reservetur. Et Presbyteri sine conscientia Episcopi nihil faciant.

(b) Ignat. Epist. ad Philad. p. 30. Edit. Usser. & passim.

Chap. III. Apostles left in his Church; No
§ 3. man that weighs the words can doubt whether, in his judgment that used them, all the Priests of every Diocess were subject to their own Bishop; And, as the words stand in that Canon, they shew that Priests owe no less obedience to their Bishop, than is due to Priests from their own Deacons: Which being the sense of all those Churches that sent their Clergy to that Council, we have no reason to doubt, but that among the rest it was then the sense of the *British* Church. This instance is so much the more to be considered; because it was, not onely before the Council of *Nice*, but immediately after the tenth persecution; and therefore it was before there could be any of those Temptations of secular greatness and wealth, which are said to have caused the Corruptions that altered the Primitive purity of Ecclesiastical Government; So that whatsoever was then in the Church, we have reason to believe had continued from the first Constitution.

§ 4. Within

§ 4. Within Twelve years after the Council of *Arles*, was the first *Nicene* Council, which has always been held in so great Veneration by all Christian Churches to this day. Among the Canons of this Council the Third, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, have express mention of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which three Orders are therein supposed to be in all Churches; and in the Fifth, Eighth, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth, the Bishop is spoken of, as having the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction; and the Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh, are concerning the Canonical Rights of Metropolitan Bishops in their Provinces.

How far this may concern us, we cannot judge, unless we knew that the *British* Church consented to these Canons. But we may reasonably presume, that this Church consented to them, because the Emperour did: Nay we have more than presumption for it from the Emperour himself; who, declaring that the Councils rule concerning

Chap. III. cerning *Easter* was received in the
 § 5. Provinces, saith (c) expressly, it was
 (c) *Euseb. life of Const. M. III. c. 18.* received in *Britain*. Therefore
 'tis more than probable that this
 Church received the *Nicene* Ca-
 nons, which may serve for a far-
 ther proof that it had this Ecclesi-
 astical Government.

§ 5. Sure enough the *Nicene*
 Creed was received by the Bishops of
Britain, as well as by those of the
 other Provinces which were not
 present at the Council: So much
 appeared by (d) their Letters to
 St. *Hilary*, and * the great *Atha-*
 nasius. It also appears, that they
 approved of the judgment of the
Sardican Council in behalf of *A-*
thanasius against his adversaries.
 But it does not appear that any of
 the *British* Bishops were then pre-
 sent at *Sardica*: though some great
 men have Collected it from (e) a
 passage in the Latin Translation of
 his works, who would have thought
 otherwise if they had consulted
 the Original; for there *Athanasius*
 speaks not of them that were pre-
 sent at the Council, but of them
 that gave their consent to the things
 that

(d) *Hilar. l. de Synodis.*

* *Athan. Epist. ad Jovianum, A.*

(e) *Athan. Apol. 2. beginning.*

that were judged there in his cause.

§. 6. Yet several of our Bishops were present soon after at the Council of *Ariminum*; saith *Sulpitius Severus*; who (f) tells us, (f) *Sulpit. hist.* that three of them had their Bisho-^{l. 2.}pricks so meanly endowed, that they were forced to live there at the publick charge. This perhaps might be the Reason why we find so few of them at any of those Councils that were held beyond the Seas; and it seems, in those times, while this Nation was under the *Roman* Emperours, there were but slender encouragements for Learning or Religion: for if there had been a plentiful provision for Learned men, it would have appeared in all likelihood by some of their Writings; and if Religion had been regarded as it ought, it would scarce have been at that low Ebb as we find it was when *St. German* came hither.

§. 7. But that still the Church here continued under the same Episcopal Government, even after this Island was broken off from the *Roman* Empire; (beside what may be gathered

Chap. III.

§ 8.

thered from the lives of *Dubricius*, *David*, *Paternus*, and many other of the old *British* Bishops,) we find it in two unquestionable Authors, which are all that from their own knowledge have given us any information of the things of that Age.

§ 8. One was *Gildas* that writ about the year 500 and 60, a little more than a hundred years after the *Saxons* came hither. He (g) tells us, that they being Heathens, had destroyed Religion where they came; they kill'd the *Governours of the Church with the Presbyters, and People*: where, that he means Bishops by the *Governours*; it appears by that (h) which follows soon after. For (i) he shews that the *Britans* that escaped out of their hands had still the three orders remaining among them, of *Bishops, or other Sacerdotes, or Clerks*. These (k) he calls the *Ecclesiastical orders or degrees*. The highest (l) degree was of them whom *St. Paul* would have to be irreprehensible, (that is surely the Bishops, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2.) These were called *Sacerdotes*, as well as they

(g) *Gild. de excid. Brit.* l. 1. p. 1009.
Præpositos Ecclesie, cum Sacerdotibus & Populo.

(h) *Ib.* l. 2. p. 1018.

(i) *Ib.* l. 2. p. 1017.

Episcoporum, vel CÆTERORUM Sacerdotum, aut Clericorum.

(k) *Ib.* l. 2. p. 1018. *Ecclesiasticos Gradus.*

(l) *Ib.* *Summus Gradus.*

they of the second order; for so he
(*m*) mentions the *Sacerdotal seat*,
of *Bishop*, or *Presbyter*; where by
a *Bishop's seat*, he means a Cathed-
ral, and by a *Presbyter's seat* a
Parish Church: and he * distin-
guishes between them that have
only the name of *Sacerdos*, and them
(*n*) that have the *Apostolical dignity*,
that is *Bishops*, of whom *Ignatius*
Bishop of Antioch, he saith, (*o*) was
Sacerdos-Summus-potestate. So it
is plain what he means by those
words *Episcoporum vel cæterorum*
Sacerdotum, that they were *Bishops*
and *Presbyters*. And that by the
lowest degree, which is there cal-
led of *Clerks*, he means *Deacons*;
it appears by his (*p*) promiscuous
use of those words (*Diaconus & Cle-*
ricus) *Clerk* and *Deacon*. So that
there can be no doubt what the
Church Government was among
the *Britans* in *Gildas* his time.

§ 9. What it was about 40 years
after, when *Gregory* the first sent
his *Missionaries* hither, we have no
better Authority to inform us than
(*q*) *Bede*, who lived within a hun-
dred years of that time. He tells

(*m*) Ib. *Sacerdo-*
talem Episcopatus
vel Presbyterii
sedem.

* Ib. *tantum*
Sacerdotale no-
men.

(*n*) Ib. *Apostoli-*
cam dignitatem.

(*o*) Ib. l. 2.

P. 1020.

(*p*) Ib. l. 2.

P. 1027.

(*q*) *Bed. hist. I.*
27. P. 85.

us,

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§ 9.

us, that when *Austin* the Monk enquired how he ought to behave himself toward the Bishops of the *French* and of the *Britans*; the Pope, that knew what his Monk would be at, answered him to the point, *We give thee no Authority over the Bishops of France, for we ought not to deprive the Bishop of Arles of the Authority which he hath received from us*, to be their
 (r) *Ib. p. 86.* Metropolitan,--But (r) *all the Bishops of Britain we commit to thee.* I pass by the Ambition of the man, and the Arrogance of the Master: there was enough of the *Typhus Romanus* in both of them. But to our purpose, I cannot but observe that in *Britain*, as well as in *France*, there were Bishops, that might pass muster well enough, if the Pope might be allowed to Lord it over them.

Accordingly, when *Austin* came to treat with the *Britans*, we find
 (s) *Bed. hist. II. 2. p. 110, 111.* (s) that the Treaty on their part was managed first by their Bishops and learned men, without any mention of Number; and afterwards by their seven Bishops and many learned

ned men with them. And when *Austin* the Monk told them what he would have, it appears they understood him as his Master the Pope did : and therefore they thought the properest answer they could give him was (t) this, *we* (t) *lb. p. 112* *will not have thee to be our Archbishop*. If they would but have granted him that, it seems that all would have been well enough, between them. And therefore, except that dispute about the Supremacy, there was no other difference in point of Government, between that which the *Romans* brought hither into *England*, and that which at their coming they found settled here in the *British* Church. On both parts there was a Diocesan Episcopacy, the same that was then in *France*, and in *Italy*, from which Countries *Austin* brought his Patterns along with him : and as well the *Britans* as the *English* have continued that Episcopacy by succession in most of the same Bishops Sees that then were to this day.

Chap. IV.

§ I.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Government in the other Churches in these Islands.

IT may seem an overcurious diligence in me, that I have been so large in the proof of that which perhaps no man denies. For I know of none that doth not grant that there was in those times such an Episcopacy in the *British* Church. But yet I thought it worth the while to prove this, as I have done, because it will be of great use in the following Controversie. For if the *British* Church was settled under such an Episcopacy, it will follow that there was the same Government in all the other Churches of this Island : for they all were converted by *Britans*, or held communion with the *British* Church, and that in such Acts as plainly shew that they had the same Government.

* Chap. 2. § 2. § I. The *South-Picts* (as I * have
(u) *Bed. hist.* III. shewn) were converted by *Ninian*
4. p. 169. *Saxon.* (u) about the year 412. that is,
Chron. An. 560. while

among the South-Picts and Scots.

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while *Britain* was yet under the *Roman* Government. But *Ninian* himself was a *Britan*, and he was brought up at *Rome*, which is enough to assure us of his Religion. And if that be not enough to make him thought favourable to Episcopacy; this is, that he was a Bishop himself when he converted them. His See was at *Candida Casa*, or *Whittern*, in that Countrey which is now called *Galloway* in *Scotland*; which was then inhabited by the *Roman* Britans. There living near the *Picts*, he was often conversant with them, and so had opportunity to go into their Countrey; where, having made a general Conversion of that People, he did all the other parts of an Apostle; if we may believe the Writer of his Life (*) he consecrated Bishops among them, he ordained Priests, and divided their Countrey into Parishes; and so having form'd and settled their Church, he returned to his own See at *Whittern*, and there he died about eighteen years after their conversion.

(x) *Usser. de prim. p. 668.*

Chap. IV.

§ 2.

§ 2. Of the *Scots* I have * shewn that at the time of their conversion there were none that lived out of & c. II. § 3. & c. *Ireland*. Thither it was (as I † Chap. II. § 4. have † also shewn) that in the year four hundred thirty one, *Palladius* was sent from *Rome* to be their Bi-

(y) *Labbe Nova*

Bib. I. p. 51.

Prosperi Chron.

Coff. Basso & An-

tiocbo. and from

him *Bede hist. I.*

13. p. 55. Epit.

Bede. Ann. 430.

shop. This we have from (y) *Pro-*
sper, an unquestionable Writer of
that Age. He saith, (as it is in
Labbe's Edition) *to the Scots be-*
lieving Christ, Palladius being or-
dained by Pope Cœlestin is sent the
first Bishop. There seems to have

(z) *Nenn. c. 52.*

Camb. MS. c. 55.

in that Copy which (z) *Nennius*
had before him : for he has *Con-*
vertendos instead of *Credientes*, and
Primitus instead of *Primus* ; which
makes the sense very much diffe-
rent from that in *Labbe's Edition*.
And in this variation he goes not
alone, but with others ; some of
whom I have * mentioned ; accor-
ding to their sense of the words
Palladius was sent to a People that
were *to be converted*, and not to
them that were *Believers* already :
and these say onely he was sent *at*
the first, that is, before *St. Patrick*,
whereas

* Chap. II. § 4.

whereas in our Copies it is said that he was sent the *first Bishop*. Nay, to make the matter yet more doubtfull, it is not certain that *Prosper* said any thing more but onely this, that he was *ordained Bishop* by that Pope, and *sent to the Scots*, &c. for the word *Primus*, as (a) Bishop *Usher* observes, (a) *Usser. de prim. p. 799.* is not in our *perfectest Copy*. But yet we see it was in that Copy which *Bede* had before him, whose reading is followed by most of the later Writers. Perhaps it might have been put in by some that knew that St. *Patrick* was a Bishop sent thither also by the same Pope; For they might think it worth noting that (b) *Palladius* was sent before him in the same quality: And that might be *Prosper's* own meaning, if the word was in the original Copy. It might also signify, according to the * *Irish Tradition*, that (c) these Scots (c) had already formed Churches under Bishops, *Kiaranus*, (d) *Ailbeus*, &c. But the Pope ordained *Palladius*, and sent him to be their *Primus Episcopus*, that is, their *Primate*, (as (d) Bishop *Usher* under- (d) *Ib. p. 800, & 899. from Sigebert and others.*

Chap. IV. stands it :) or that he, and not
 § I. St. *Patrick*, was their first Archbi-
 (e) Saxon. Chro. shop. This last I conceive (e) to be
 Ann. 429. the true meaning of the words, if
Primus was in the Original. But
 whether it was, or no, we are not
 † Chap. II. § 4. greatly concerned. For as * it is
 certain that *Palladius* was sent into
Ireland, and not into *Britain*; so
 we are sure that in either of these
 Islands, he staid but a very short
 time, and did nothing worth the
 remembring: So far was he from
 erecting a new form of govern-
 ment, or from altering any form
 that he found already settled in
 those Countries.

As for that which is said by an-
 † Chap. II. § 4. cient † Writers, of his coming to
 die somewhere in the North part of
Britain; though that may seem to
 give some kind of countenance to
 those Fblers, that make him to
 have lived many years among the
Scots, and there to have set up E-
 piscopacy; yet this colour abates,
 as soon as it is remembred that the
Scots were not then come to live in
 this Island; so that, if he did any
 thing in that Countrey, it must be
 among

among the *Picts*. And indeed all that speak of his dying here, * say, * *ib.* it was among them, or in or near to their confines. But then he came, either too soon, or too late, to set up Episcopacy any-where in their Countrey. It was too soon to doe it among the *North-Picts*; for they were not Christians till above a hundred years after, in the time of *Columba*, who † was, as *Bede* tells † Chap. II. § 5. us, *the first Teacher* of Christianity in that Countrey. And therefore, if it was any-where, it must be among the *South-Picts*, according to (f) the Authour of *Scotichronicon*, though he did not intend it: for out of his good-will to bestow a Saint upon his own Town of *Fordon*, he made *Eugenius* King of the Scots give *Palladius* a settlement there; not considering that *Fordon* belonged at that time to the *South-Picts*, and that the Scots never had it * till above 400 years after. It * Chap. I. § 9. seems this was new to the Monks ^{10.} of that place; and this discovery of *John* of *Fordon's* set them upon searching for the Body of *Palladius*, which was found there (as the

(f) *Usser. de prim. p. 670.*
out of *John* of
Fordon's Scotichronicon.

Chap. IV. *Scotish* Writers tell us) in the year

§ 3.

(g) *Heſtor. Boeth.*
Scot. hiſt. l. 7.
 fol. 133. li. 10.

1494. that is within eleven hundred years after his death. (g) No doubt they found a dead Body there, whoſoever it was. But admit it was the Body of *Palladius*, or at leaſt that he died there, or ſomewhere elſe among the *S. Picts*; it does not follow that he brought Episcopacy, or any thing new into that Countrey. For the *S. Picts* were already turn'd Chriſtian, by

* Chap. II. § 2. * *Nennianus*, who was himſelf a *Britiſh* Biſhop; and who had there form'd a Church under Dioceſan

† Chap. IV. § 1. Biſhops, as we have † already ſhewn; and there is no mention of any one Biſhop that was ordained by *Palladius*, either there, or any-where elſe, except *Servanus* and *Tervanus*, whoſe Ordinations were long after his death, as it is (h) proved by Biſhop *Uſher*.

(h) *Uſſer. de*
prim. p. 1100.

§ 3. Therefore to ſay no more of the effects of *Palladius*'s Apoſtleſhip, among the *Irish*, or any-where elſe, than we have from ancient Writers, that is very little more than nothing; The honour of converting the generality of that Nation was reſerved

reserved for St. *Patrick*, who * came * Chap. IV. § 5.
thither within one year after the
sending of the other, and he is ge-
nerally acknowledged to have been
the Apostle of that Nation.

Before we come to shew what
he did in that Ministry, it will be
easie to judge what he would doe,
concerning Church-Government,
if we consider him in all his former
Relations. For first, he was born
in the *Roman* Province of *Britain*;
which was enough to engage both
his Judgment and his Affections
to the Government of Bishops;
it being then the onely form that
was in his Countrey, not to say
(as justly I may) the onely form
that ever was among Christians.
But besides, we are told (i) that he (i) *Nennius*.
had all three Orders in his own Fa- c. 52.
mily : his Father *Calpurnius* was a
Deacon, his Grandfather *Potitus* a
Priest, and his Mother's Brother
S. Martin was Bishop of *Tours* in
France. In his younger Travels he
was taken Captive, and carried into
Ireland, where he was kept so for
some years. The compassion that he
had then for the People there being
alto-

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§ 3.

(k) *Nennius*
c. 53. *Cam-*
bridge MS. c. 56.
Audita morte
Palladii monente
& suadente Ger-
mano Sancto E-
piscopo, ad Scotos
convertendos in
fidem Christi
mittitur.

(l) *Usser. de*
prim. p. 814.
from Nennius,
Probus, Maria-
nus, Siebert, &c.

(m) *Usser. de*
prim. p. 815.
from Marianus,
Florent. Wigorn,
&c.
P. 873. from
Siebert, &c.

altogether Heathens, was that which gave him the first impulse to endeavour their conversion. After he had his liberty, he came to live with his Uncle *St. Martin*; and after his death, and a second Travel, he lived with *St. German* Bishop of *Auxerre*: both these were Diocesan Bishops; of whom the first made him Deacon, the second made him Priest, which was a farther engagement to Episcopacy. *St. German* having (k) heard of the death of *Palladius*, persuaded him to take the duty upon himself, as he formerly designed, to go and preach the Faith in that Countrey. In order to this, being first ordained Bishop in *France*, he went afterward to (l) Pope *Cælestin*, who was the best able to furnish him with necessaries, and who had already shewed his good-will to the design by sending *Palladius* thither before him. And that Pope did for him as he had done for *Palladius*; that is, he (m) made him Archbishop, and gave him all accommodations for the Work; which was thought enough to entitle him to the good success of it. To this sense,

among the South-Picts and Scots.

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sense, I should chuse to apply those words of *Prosper* in his Book against *Cassian*; where speaking of Pope *Cælestin*, he saith, that *by ordaining a Bishop for the Scots he made that Barbarous Island Christian.*

But by the way, however that Pope had the credit of it, our *Britans* were all that wrought in that conversion: For as *Patrick* himself was one of this Nation, so were all the rest that he took with him for his assistance: of whom (*n*) *Nennius* (*n*) *Nennius*. names these three, *Segearn* a Bishop, *Auxillius* a Priest, and *Iserninus* a Deacon; that were all ordained with him, as he saith, by the holy Bishop *Amatheus*, who first gave him (that before was called *Moun*) the name of *Patricius*.
C. 54. Cambr.
MS. c. 57.

Being now come into *Ireland*, he laboured there with great success; and having in few years made the *Island Christian*, (as there *Prosper* tells us,) he formed it into Diocesan Churches; he ordained thirty Bishops of those *Britans* that came to him; he placed his own See at *Armagh*, which he made the Metropolis: There he sate as Archbishop

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shop and Primate of *Ireland*, there he held his yearly Synods, and did all other things according to the Patterns that he had seen in other Countries. I know not whether it be worth taking notice of, that

(o) *Nenn. c. 57. Camb. MS. c. 60. Scripsit Abegetoria 365. Ecclesiarum quoque eodem numero fundavit 365. Ordinavit Episcopos 365. aut eo amplius. Presbyteros autem usque ad 3000.*

(p) *Usser. de prim. p. 565. from John of Timmouth.*

(o) *Nennius* saith, and some others after him, that *Patrick* writ 365 ABC's, founded 365 Churches, ordained 365 Bishops or more, and no fewer than 3000 Priests. It seems the Writers of those times, when they were set upon the Pin of multiplying, used to say that things were as many as the days of the year: For so the

(p) Writer of *Kentiger's* Life saith, that in his Monastery at *St. Asaph* he had 365 Monks for Divine Service; which no man will understand literally that knows the place. Perhaps the meaning might be, that beside those thirty Bishops which *Patrick* ordain'd for the Bishops Sees, he also ordain'd as many Suffragans as there were Rural Deanries, in each of which there were eight or nine Parish-priests, taking one Deanry with another. If *St. Patrick* would
so

so far consult the ease of the Bishops, or the Peoples convenience, he might doe it without altering the *Species* of the Church-government. But no Man that writes of the Church-matters of *Ireland*, speaks of any thing there in those times, which was otherwise than it was in the Churches of the *Roman Empire*. And for the Sees that were then founded in *Ireland*, we have an account of many of their Bishops in that work which Sir (q) *James* (q) *Waraus de Ware* has publisht concerning the *Præsulibus Hiberniæ*. Prelates of *Ireland*; where also he shews how in some of those Sees the Succession has been continued ever since till our Age.

§ 4. But the *Roman Empire* stood not long after this last mentioned Conversion. It was about the time when *Prosper* writ, that the *Saxons* overran *Britan*, and soon after the like was done in other Countries. So that these Northern Christians were grown strangers to them in *Italy*: and before they came to be acquainted again, there were those Innovations at *Rome*, which I mention'd * in the foregoing Chapter. * Chap. II. § 9.
Their

Chap. IV. Their not yielding to these real Innovations was a bar to their Communion with *Rome*, which by this time was ignorant enough to mistake ancient things for Innovations. But yet *Rome* had nothing to say against their form of Church-Government; she found it still the same that was in other Christian Countries: and therefore, if other things had been agreed, she would have own'd their Bishops, and communicated with them, as * the Saxons and Britans did with one another.

* Chap. II. § 9. § 5. For their communicating together, as well while they were strangers to *Rome*, as after they had refus'd to submit to her Terms of Communion; This is so well known, that I need not spend much time to prove it. *Kentigern*, the *British* Bishop of *Glasgow*, was ordain'd by an *Irish* Bishop: and for *Cedd*, a *Scotch* Bishop, *Wini* being to ordain him, took in two *British* Bishops to his assistance: Divers other such Instances we might bring if there were occasion. But the words of *Laurentius*, *Melitus*

litus and *Justus*, the Roman Bishops that were ordain'd by *Austin* the Monk, are (r) plain enough; we (r) *Bed. hist. II. 4. p. 118. Scotos nihil discrepare à Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus.* have found (say they) by conversing with them, that the Scots do not differ from the Britans.

But as * I have shewn that the Romans did not dislike the Orders that they found in the *British* Church; So it appears that what were then among the Scots, they either approved, or at least they had nothing to say against them. When the before-named Roman Bishops sent that Epistle into *Ireland*, the (s) Inscription was *To our (s) Bed. Ib. Dominis & Charissimis fratribus, Episcopis & Abbatibus per universam Scotiam.* Lords and dearest Brethren, the Bishops, and Abbats, throughout all Scotland; that is *Ireland*, the Scots own Countrey, as *Bede* there interprets it. The matter of this Epistle was to invite them into the *Roman* Communion; but not a word they had to say against their Orders. In like manner when *John* the Pope-Elect writ his Epistle to the Clergy of the North part of *Ireland*, who yet persisted in their former way of reckoning their *Easter*, when the *South-Irish* were come over to the

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the new way that was used in the Roman Church; the Inscription of the Epistle to them, whom they at Rome accounted Schismaticks, was *To our most beloved and most holy*

(t) *Bed. hist. II.*

19. p. 154. Cor-

rected by Bishop

Usher de prim.

P. 968, 969,

970. *Dilectissi-**mis & Sanctissi-**mis Tomiano,**&c. Episcopis;**Cronano, &c.**Presbyteris; Sa-**rano, caterisque**Doctores seu**Abbatibus Scotis.*(u) *Uss. prim.*P. 938. *War. de**præful. Hib. p. 5,*

62, 196.

*Uss. prim.*P. 969. *Ib.*

P. 702.

(t) Tomianus, Columbanus, Cronanus, Dimanus and Baithanus, Bishops; Cronanus, Ernianus, Laustranus, Scellanus and Segianus, Priests; Saranus, and the other Scottish Doctours or Abbats. This

(u) Tomianus was then Archbishop of Armagh, Dimanus was Bishop of Connor, Baithanus was Bishop of Clonmacnois, as it appears in Sir James Ware's Catalogue: I have not found the Sees of the other two Bishops. Those five Presbyters, and that one without any title, were all of them Abbats, as may be judg'd by the Inscription of the former Epistle, which is onely to Bishops and Abbats. Cronanus, the first of the Presbyters, seems to have been the Abbat of Ross-cree: Segianus, the last of them, seems to have been the same with Segenius, Abbat of that Monastery in the Isle of Hy; for Segenius came to be Abbat in the year 623. and died in the year 652.

between

between which two years, on the last day of *December* 640. was the Consecration of *John* IV. who, while he was yet Pope-elect, wrote this Epistle. *Saranus* was an Abbat that was not in Priests Orders; which ought to be remembred, when * we come to consider how * Ch. VII. § 7. true it is that Abbats and Seniour Monks could ordain, as some would have it. The matter of the Epistle to these *Irish* Bishops and Abbats was chiefly to persuade them that in finding of *Easter* they followed the *Jews*: which, as it discovers the Pope's Ignorance in this point, so it shews that he stuck at nothing else in their Church; and therefore not at their Orders; they are acknowledged in the Title of the Epistle, and there is nothing against them in the body of it. Therefore we cannot wonder to find that the *Saxons* admitted the *Irish* Clergy to officiate among them, as sometime they did; and suffered their Bishops to join with them in the office of Ordination.

This may suffice for the *Scots* that were in *Ireland*, to shew that

H

they

Chap. V. they had the same sort of Bishops
 § 1. among them that were in all other
 Churches.

C H A P. V.

*Of Church-Government among the
 Scots and North-Picts in Scot-
 land, and in England.*

L Astly, For the North-Picts,
 and the Scots their Conver-
 ters, who dwelt in the Isle of *Hy*,
 and who from thence converted all
 the North of *England*, and furnisht
 it with its first Bishops. The Que-
 stion is chiefly concerning these, of
 whom therefore I am to speak more
 particularly.

* Chap. II. § 6. § 1. It hath been * shewn that
 the first conversion of these *Picts*
 was by *Columba* and his twelve
 Monks, who were all *Scots* that
 came out of *Ireland*. And therefore
 we may reasonably presume that
 their sense concerning Church-Gov-
 ernment was the same that was
 generally in their Countrey. And
 there † I have shewn that at the
 time

† § 8.

time of this Conversion there was a settled Diocesan Episcopacy. But besides, concerning *Columba* himself, we are assured that (x) when he was in *Leinster*, a young man, and then Deacon, he was the Disciple of (y) *Finian*, who had been seven times at *Rome*, and was at that time Bishop of *Meath*; and it is said that it was by this *Finian's* advice, that, being forced to leave *Ireland* for fear of King *Dermot*, he chose to make his retreat into that part of *Britain*. Being there in *Jonah* he knew by Revelation the death of (z) his dear Friend *Columbanus* Bishop of *Laghlín*. His Education under one Diocesan Bishop, and his Intimacy with another, makes it yet more probable that *Columba* was not against that sort of Episcopacy.

It may be askt, why then he was not ordain'd Bishop himself? especially, when he was going to convert a Heathen Nation? which was the same reason for which *Paladius* and *Patrick* were made Bishops. It seems probable that, when he went upon this Service, the Bi-

(x) *Adamnan*.
vit. *Columb.* III.
7.

(y) Called *Findbarrus Episcopus* by *Adamnanus* Ib. II. 1. his Master, the Reverend Bishop *Finio*, *Adamn.* Ib. III. 4. & *Cummenius* in his Life of *Columba*, n. 3. *Vinianus Episcopus* in *Adamn.* Ib. III. 7.

(z) *Cummenius* Ib. n. 8. and *Adamn.* Ib. III. 16. *Columbanus Episcopus Laglínensis*, carus *Columbae amicus*.

Chap. V.

§ 1.

(a) *Beda*. hist.(b) *Adamnan*.

shops in *Ireland* durst not ordain him, for fear of provoking the King to turn his wrath upon themselves. But besides, it seems that he chose rather to be an Abbat than a Bishop, having from his youth devoted himself to a Monastick life. He was so fond of that way of life, that (as (a) *Beda* tells us) he had founded many Monasteries even before he came out of *Ireland*: and adding to them what he founded afterward, a (b) Writer of his Life reckons them to have been no less than a hundred, all which he subjected to his Monastery of *Hy* above-mentioned. That Monastery and that Island were his propriety, there he was much more than a Bishop, he lived like the General of his Order, and was truly, as one called our *Anselm*, a Pope of another World. But yet that, even there, he acknowledged the Superiority of the Episcopal Order; and that he did not think Bishops unnecessary, even in his Monastery; these two things I shall shew out of the little that remains to us of those times.

§ 2. First

§ 2. First, that *Columba* did acknowledge the Superiority of the Episcopal Order above that which he had being a Priest, and that even in his own Monastery; of this I shall give an Instance out of his Life writ by his Successour *Adamnanus*, who was Abbat of *Hy* when *Bede* was but seven years old, and both for the place and time when he lived, was very capable to be a Witness of what he writes. He (c) tells (c) *Adamnan.*
us, that there came to *Columba* in *Hy*, one that demean'd himself as humbly as he could, that none might know that he was a Bishop. But yet that could not be concealed from the holy man [*Columba*:] For one Lord's day the holy Man having ordered him at the Communion to consecrate with him, according to the custome, he called to the holy Man (d) that they might (d) *Ut simul,*
break the Lord's Bread together, as *quasi duo Presbyteri, Dominicum*
two Priests [used to do in their way *panem frangerent.*
of Consecration.] The holy Man therefore coming to the Altar; on the sudden, *Columba* lookt him in (e) *Hunc solus*
the face, and said to him, *Christ* *Episcopus Episcopali ritu frange*
blest thee, my Brother (e) *thou be-* *panem.*

Chap. V. *ing a Bishop, break this Bread alone as a Bishop uses to doe. Now we know*
 § 3. *that thou art a Bishop. Why hast thou hitherto endeavoured to conceal*

(f) *Ut tibi à nobis debita non redderetur veneratio.*

thy self (f) that we might not give thee due veneration? These words of *Columba* to a Bishop, do sufficiently shew that he acknowledged the Episcopal Order superiour to his own Order of Presbyter; which was the first thing that I undertook to prove.

(g) *Usser. prim. p. 701.*

§ 3. The other is, that *Columba* did acknowledge that Bishops were necessary for the ordaining of others into the Ministry. That he did not think Bishops unnecessary, it appears in that there was always one in his Monastery, as (g) Bishop *Usser* tells us out of the *Usser Annals*. And why could not the Abbat live there without a Bishop? Sure it was to doe something which without the help of a Bishop he could not doe himself, neither singly, nor in conjunction with the rest of his Clergy: and whatsoever that was, it was part of an Office that made the Bishop more than a Name. Of this sort as there was one

One always resident in his Monastery; so there was, as (h) Bede (h) Bed. hist. tells us, a Bishop of all the Province, whether the same with the Resident, or another, I cannot yet find. And besides, there were commonly more Bishops coming and going; such as either came on Visits, or were driven out of their Countrey, or retired thither from the World. For their Monasteries (as I * shall shew) * Chap. VII. § 5. were the Universities of that Age: and though the greatest part of the Monks were Lay-men, that maintained themselves by working with their own hands; yet what Clergy they had in those days were bred up in these Monasteries, and there for lower Orders they were ordained by the resident Bishop. To ordain another Bishop, the Resident might have others there to join with him; though, if more could not be had, (i) one might (i) Usher's Religion of Ireland, c. 8. p. 78. do it in case of necessity.

§ 4. Thus when King *Oswald*, becoming a Christian, desired to have a Bishop from *Hy*, to plant a Church among his *Northumbrians*; (k) Bed. hist. III. 3. p. 166. and III. 5. p. 171. first, they (k) sent him one, that

Chap. V. was ordain'd perhaps onely by the
 § 5. Bishop of *Hy*. When he could not
 agree with his People, he therefore

(l) *Bed. hist. III.*
 5. P. 171.

(l) return'd back to his Monastery ;
 where, having in a Council of the
 Seniors given an account of his ill
 reception, *Aidan* being then present,
 and discoursing well of the matter,
 all the Seniors (m) pitcht upon
 him ; and judging him *worthy to be*
a Bishop, they decreed that he *ought*
to be sent : it follows, that *so they*
ordain'd him, and sent him. Then

(m) *Bed. Ib.*
 p. 172. *ipsum ef-*
se dignum Episco-
pato, ipsum, &c.
mitti debere de-
cernunt Sicque
illum Ordinantes
miserunt.

So *Ib. V. 13.*
 p. 480. *Aida-*
num miserant
Antistitem.

(n) *Usser. prim.*
 p. 705.

at least there were present two Bi-
 shops for *Aidan's* Ordination ; and
 if the See of *Dunkeld* was then
 founded, as (n) old Writers tell
 us, the Bishop of that place might
 make a third : or there might be
 some other, of whom *Bede* had no
 occasion to tell us ; for he could
 little think that ever it would come
 to be a Question, whether *Aidan*
 were ordain'd by Bishops, or by
 Presbyters.

(o) *Bed. hist. III.*
 5. beginning
 and ending.

(p) *Bed. hist. III.*
 3. P. 166.

§ 5. But that *Aidan* was (o) or-
 dain'd there at *Hy*, *Bede* plainly
 faith in these words ; (p) *King Os-*
wald desired to have a Bishop sent to
him, and he received Bishop Aidan ;
 and

ent
y by the
could not
therefore
monastery;
cil of the
of his ill
a present,
e matter,
ht upon
thy to be
he ought
t so they
. Then
two Bi-
on; and
as then
ers tell
e might
ight be
had no
e could
ld come
r Aidan
or by
(o) or-
plainly
ing Oi-
sent to
Aidan;
and

and again, *Bishop Aidan came to him*; again, * *Aidan* was sent from * *Bed. hist. III. Hy to convert the English, having* 5. p. 169. accep-
received the degree of *Bishop in the* *patus.* to gradu Episco-
time when *Segenius Abbat* and
Priest was over that *Monastery*. By
the way, this *Segenius* is *Seginus* in
other Copies, which is nearer to
Segianus † before-mentioned. And † Chap. IV. § 6.
that this Ordination was into a
higher Order than that of Presby-
ters, it sufficiently appears by divers
things that we read of in *Bede's*
History: as namely, (q) that he (q) *Bed. hist. III.*
chose the place of his *Episcopal See* 3. p. 16.
in the Isle of *Lindisfarn*; (r) there (r) *Bed. Ib. VI.*
he was with his *Clergy*, and there 27. p. 35, 60.
was the *Abbat* with his *Monks*, who
all belonged to the care of the *Bi-*
shop. For his *Clergy*, he had divers
Persons that came with him from
Hy; of them probably were his
Chaplains that went about with
him, of whom one is called (s) (s) *Bed. Ib. III.*
Presbyter suus, his domestick Chap- 14. p. 200. and
lain; and one or two (t) *Clerici* (t) *Bed. Ib. III.*
sui, his *Presbyters* in King *Alfred's* 5. p. 170.
Translation; Beside these, there
were many *Presbyters* that came
out of *Ireland*, who preached, and
baptized;

Chap. V. baptized; and so (u) Churches were
 § 5. *built in many places* throughout his

(u) *Bed. hist. III.* Diocese. Next, for the extent of his
 3. p. 167.
 (x) *Ib. p. 167.* Diocese, it was as large as (x) *Of-*
wald's Kingdom of the Northumbri-

(y) *Ib. III. 17.* *ans*; and particularly, (y) where
 p. 204.

the King had a Town, there he
 had a Church, and a Lodging. For
 a Nursery for his Clergy, the King
 gave (z) *Possessions and Territories*
 (z) *Ib. III. 3.* *for the founding of Monasteries*; At
 p. 167.
 one of these, which was *Heortea*,

(a) *Bed. hist. IV.* (a) he consecrated *Hern* Abbess. And
 23. p. 312.

* § 6.

no doubt he ordain'd men of all
 Orders, to fill up his Clergy where
 there was occasion, as well as his
 Successours did, as * I shall shew;
 and governed them and his Flock
 as long as he was Bishop, which was
 (b) *Bed. hist. III.* (b) for seventeen years, even till
 17. p. 203, 204.

his death. All which time, *Bede*
calleth him Bishop Aidan, as oft as
 he mentions him. And as more than
 once he gives him an excellent cha-
 racter for the good he did, and
 (c) *Bed. hist. III.* spends some (c) whole Chapters in
 15, 16, 17. giving account of his Miracles; so he
 dislikes nothing in his whole con-

duct, but his not keeping right
 (d) *Bed. hist. III.* *Easter*: and (d) saith, for all that,
 25. p. 233.

he

he was not onely in communion with the Bishops that came from *Rome*; But as, while he lived, he was *deservedly beloved* by them, and was *had in veneration* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of the *East-Angles*; So (e) after his death he was accounted a Saint by them of the *Roman* Communion. This sufficiently sheweth that they did not take him for an Intruder into their Order, but were very well satisfied with his Ordination.

(e) *Bed. vita Cuthberti*, n. 7.

§ 6. After *Aidan's* death, *Finan* (f) succeeded him in his Bishoprick, and (g) in his stead received the degree of *Episcopacy*, saith *Bede*, again using the same Expression; meaning (I suppose) that he received a degree higher than what he had before when he was Priest. And he also was (h) ordain'd, and sent by the Scots; that is by *Scotish* Bishops, as I shall shew * afterwards. There was great reason this should be done in *Hy*, for there was no Bishop to doe it in *Northumbria*. When he came thither into his Diocese, *Bede* (i) saith, he made a

(f) *Bed. hist. III. 17. p. 204. Successit ei in Episcopatu.*

(g) *Bed. hist. III. 17. p. 204, and 25. p. 233.*

(h) *Bed. hist. III. 25. p. 233.*

* Chap. VI. § 4.

(i) *Bed. Ib.*

Church

Chap. V. Church fit for an Episcopal See,
 § 6. which it seems that was not which

(k) *Bed. hist. III.*
 21. p. 218.

(k) baptized *Peada* King of the *middle-Angles* with all his Court; and then gave him four Priests, one *Scot*, and three *English*, to baptize all the rest of his People: The *Scottish* Priest, who was named *Diuma*,

(l) *Bed. hist. 21.*
 211. p. 219.

he afterward (l) ordain'd to be Bishop of that Province of *Mercia*.

(m) *H. II. 22.*
 ldd. 2.

Finan also (m) baptized *Sigeber* King of the *East-Angles* with his Friends: who having gotten two Priests to convert and baptize his People, when that was done, one of them, whose name was *Cedd* came to acquaint Bishop *Finan* with

(n) *Bed. hist. II.*
 22.

their success; who (n) having found the work of the Gospel prospered

(o) *P. 223.*

in his hands, (o) sent for two other Bishops to assist him in the Ministry of Ordination, and he with them ordain'd *Cedd* Bishop of the *East-Angles*. These Instances may suffice

(p) *Bed. hist. III.*
 17. p. 204. *tempore non pauco in Episcopatu permanfit.*

to shew that *Finan* took upon him to be more than a Presbyter, and that *Bede* meant something more in (p) calling him as he does constantly a Bishop.

§ 7. Af-

See, which onely Finan mid. and one ptize Sco-uma, e Bi-rcia. bert a his two e his one edd vith und red ber ery or-An-fice im nd ore on-Af-

§ 7. After his death, *Colman* (y) succeeded in the *Bishoprick*, (q) *Ib. III. 25. p. 233.* *saith Bede*; who addeth, that he also was (r) sent from Scotland, (r) *Bed. Ib.* that is (f) from *Hy*, and that (f) *Ib. IV. 4. p. 270.* (t) he was a Bishop of Scotland, and (t) *Bed. hist. IV. 4. p. 270.* the Scots (u) sent him Bishop to Lindisfarn. So his Ordination, his (u) *Ib. III. 25. p. 234.* See, and his Diocese, (x) were the (x) *Ib. III. 25. p. 234.* same with those of *Aidan* and *Finan*. The Church at *Lindisfarn* was (y) that in which he presided, (y) *Ib. p. 239. Ecclesia cui praeerat.* and his Diocese also was the Kingdom of *Northumbria*. But some other Kingdoms, that had Bishops of their own, being then subject to the King of *Northumbria*, it seems that *Colman* was their Metropolitan Bishop: for so I find him call'd by a (z) Writer then living, *Colman* (z) *Steph. Hed- dii vita Wilfridi n. 10.* Metropolitan of the City of *York*. There he governed till the thirtieth year (a) of the *Episcopacy* of the (a) *Bed. hist. III. 26. p. 239. Episcopatus Scotorum, quem gesserunt in provincia Anglorum.* Scots which they held in the Province of the English. For *Aidan* held the Bishoprick seventeen years, *Finan* ten years, *Colman* three years. And then being fain to leave his Bishoprick, because he would not comply with the *Romans* upon the Controversie

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(b) *Bed. hist. III.*

26. p. 239.

(c) *Ib. IV. 4.*

p. 270.

(d) *Uss. prim.*(e) *Bed. hist. III.*26. p. 239. *Suf-**cepit pro illo Pon-**tificatum Nor-**thanhybrorum**Tuda.*(f) *Ib. III. 3.*

p. 166.

(g) *Bed. hist. III.*

26. p. 239.

troverſie about the (b) keeping of *Eaſter*, he went (c) firſt to *Hy*, and from thence to *Inisboſn* in *Ire-* *land*; where, after all, he died a Biſhop, and as ſuch is recorded in (d) the *Ulſter Annals*.

§ 8. After *Colman* was gone, (e) the next Biſhop of the *Northumbrians* was *Tuda*. He (as (f) *Beda* ſaith) was brought up, and ordain'd a Biſhop, among the *South-Scots* in *Ireland*. But theſe *South-Scots* had, upon the Pope's admonition, received the new Rule for keeping *Eaſter*, about thirty years before *Colman* was Biſhop; and therefore there can be no doubt that their Orders were the ſame as in the *Roman Church*. So (g) *Bede* ſaith, that *Tuda* had his *Tonſure* according to the manner of that *Province*, and obſerved the *Catholick Rule* of the time of *Eaſter*. While *Colman* yet held the office of *High-prieſt*, this *Irish* Biſhop was come over into *Northumbria*, and there diligently taught by word and deed, thoſe things which belong to *Faith* and *Truth*. The *Covenanting Scots* of our Age would firſt have made him

among the Northern Saxons.

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him renounce his order of Bishop, before they would have admitted him to any work of the Ministry: But *Colman* did admit *Tuda* to be a Teacher, which sheweth that the Churches were yet in communion together. And so they continued, till the breach, upon King *Oswy's* imposition of the new Rule of *Easter*. When that had driven away *Colman*, then this Bishop, being ready upon the place, (b) *Bede* saith, (b) *Bed. hist. III. 26. p. 239.* took upon him the Office of High-priest in his stead. And to shew what the High-priest's Office was, (i) *Bede* saith, he governed the (i) *ibid.* Church: But it was a very little while, for he died of the Plague the same year.

§ 9. The (k) next Bishop of *Lin-* (k) *Bed. hist. III. 26. p. 239.*
disfarn was *Eata*, who was (l) or- (l) *Bed. hist. IV. 2.*
dained by *Theodore* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and made first Bishop of *Hagulstad*, and afterward translated to (m) *Lindisfarn*. Of him, (m) *Bed. hist. IV. 28. p. 353.* and all his Successors, there is no controversie. The question is onely concerning his Predecessors; whether they were such Bishops as are
now

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now in our Church, or whether they were onely called Bishops equivocally. But if *Eata* was a proper Diocesan Bishop, so was *Tuda*, and so were his other Predecessours. For we reade of no change of Government, in *Beda*, who is the onely Authour between us in this part of the Controversie; But he makes them orderly succeed one another, in the See of *Lindisfarn*, as Bishops of the *Northumbrian* Diocese. And to put the matter out of dispute, where he speaks of this last Bishop, *the most Reverend Father Eata*, as (n) he calls him; He saith, that he had the Abby and Monastery of *Lindisfarn* under him, as *Aidan* had, who was *the First Bishop* of the place. Surely *Bede* could not have called *Aidan* the first Bishop, in relation to *Eata*; if *Aidan* and the rest were not such Bishops as *Eata* was, but onely called Bishops equivocally.

(n) *Bed. hist. IV.*
27. p. 350.

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That all the other Bishops Ordain'd by the Scots, were properly Bishops.

TO make it plainer yet, what kind of Bishops those were in *Northumbria*; it may be considered what those were whom they Ordained for other Countries. They Ordain'd Bishops over the *Mercians*, and *Middle Angles*, and *East-Saxons*. If we find that these were in our sense proper Bishops, we have reason to judge that they were so that Ordained them.

§ 1. First, Of the *Middle Angles*, we (o) read that *Diurma*, who was a *Scotchman* belonging to *Finan*, and three other Presbyters of the *Northumbrian* Diocese Preach'd to them, and Converted and Baptized them. No doubt they, as being Priests, might Preach and Administer the Sacraments. But there wanted something more for the perfecting of a Church. And though *Diurma* was the chief of these four,

(o) *Bed. hist. III.*
21, p. 218.

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He could not yet supply that Defect, as being onely Senior Presbyter. Therefore *Diuma* goes to *Finan* Bishop of *Lindisfarn*, and gets him to Ordain him a Bishop, as *

* Ch. IV. §. 6.
(p) *Bed. hist. III.*
21. p. 219.

I have shewn (p) from *Bede*. Who addeth, that he was Bishop of the *Middle Angles*, and *Mercians*; *there being so few Priests that one was fain to be Bishop over both those Countries*, which (q) contained no less than 17 or 18 of our Counties; and the *Mercians* were no less than

(q) *Usher Relig.*
of Ireland,
p. 115.

(r) *Bed. hist. III.*
25. p. 232.

(r) *twelve thousand Families*, as *Bede* tells us, (tho according to their account, it must be a great Town that had a hundred Families in it, when *Anglesey* had no more than 900, and the *Isle of Man* had but 300 Families in it.) It seems if there had been store of Presbyters, each people of those two before-mentioned should have had a Bishop to it self; and yet a Bishop for twelve thousand Families, so dispersed as they were, had been something more than a Congregational, or Parochial Bishop; they must find some other name for him, that would not have him called a *Dio-cesan*.

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were properly Bishops.

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§ 2. After his Death, (s) *Bede* saith (s) *Bede* hist. III. that *Ceollab* or *Cellab* a Scot, took ^{21.} p. 219. the Office of a Bishop in his stead; who, not long after, (t) left his (t) *Ib.* & III. 24. Bishoprick, or Office of Bishop, p. 231. and returned to the Isle of *Hy*.

§ 3. After him, (u) *Tromhere* (u) *Ibid.* succeeded in the Bishoprick; which *Tromhere* was a Religious man, and of Monastick Education, an Englishman by Nation, and of kin to *Oswin* King of *Northumbria*, but (x) brought (x) III. 19. p. up and Ordained by the Scots: These ^{219, 220.} are *Bede's* words, who tells us there, that (y) he was Abbat of the Mo- (y) III. 25. p. nastery of *Ingetlingum*; which ^{232.} shews that by that Ordination he was onely a Presbyter. But in another place, speaking of his Succession to *Ceollab*, (z) he saith he (x) *Ibid.* III. 21. p. was Ordained Bishop by the Scots. ^{p. 220.}

It appears that he had at least two different Ordinations; of which one was to be a Priest, the other was to be a Bishop. The Question is, Whether the Scots that Ordained him both times, were themselves onely Presbyters? which question, though we cannot answer from *Beda* in this place, we shall clearly

Chap. VI. resolve it from another place of
 § 4. *Bede* which will follow in the next
 Section.

§ 4. The *East-Saxons* were Converted by means of their King *Sigebert*, who being to visit his friend King *Oswy* in *Northumbria*, was by him persuaded to be a Christian, and Baptized by Bishop *Finan* before mentioned. But *Sigebert* desiring King *Oswy* to give him some Teachers to Convert and Baptize his People, *Oswy* sent to the Province of the *Middle Angles* for *Cedd*, one of the three Presbyters that with *Diurma* had Converted that People, as is before-mentioned. This *Cedd* was an Englishman, brought up at *Lindisfarn*, saith *Bede*; (a) who addeth, that he was one of four Brothers, that were all of them eminent Presbyters; and two of them, namely this *Cedd* and his Brother *Chad*, came to have the degree of *High Priest*, that is, chief Bishop in the *Saxon* Translation. Of (b) *Chad* it will be shewn that he was Ordain'd Bishop of *York* by (c) *Wini* Bishop of *Winchester* and two *British* Bishops.

(a) *Bed. hist.*
 III. 23. P. 226.

(b) Page 227.

(c) III. 28.

Bishops. Of this *Cedd* it cannot be doubted that he was a Bishop; for *Bede* calls him so ten times (*d*) in (*d*) III. 14. one Chapter, and near a hundred times in his Book; but it may be doubted whether Bishops Ordained him, because he is (*e*) said to have (*e*) III. 25. p. been *Ordained by the Scots*: for if ^{234.} the *Scots* were govern'd onely by Presbyters, then *Cedd* was made a Bishop by Presbyters, which is all that our Adversaries would have. But what if *Cedd* was Ordained by no other than Bishops? Then *Bede's* saying any one was *Ordained by the Scots*, will not argue that he was Ordained by *Scotish* Presbyters: nay it will argue the contrary, unless our Adversaries can bring at least one instance of a *Scotish* Ordination by Presbyters.

§ 5. But how far they are mistaken in *Cedd's* Ordination, it will sufficiently appear in the process of the *East-Saxons* Conversion. For when *Cedd*, and another Presbyter whom *Oswy* sent with him, had gone over all the Countries and gathered a great Congregation unto the Lord, saith *Bede*; (*f*) it hapned once that (*f*) *Bed. hist.*
III. 22. p. 222.

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Cedd returned home into *Northumbria*, and came to the Church of *Lindisfarn* to speak with *Finan* the Bishop. Which *Finan*, when he found that the work of the Gospel had prospered with him, made him Bishop of the Nation of the *East Sax-*

(g) *Ibid.* p. 213. *ons* (g) having called to himself two other Bishops for the Ministry of Ordination. So that *Finan*, and those two other Bishops, (three in all, according to the *Nicene Canon*) were those *Scots* by whom *Cedd* was Ordain'd, as (h) *Bede* saith elsewhere. This deserves to be taken notice of by our Adversaries, and considered in other places where *Bede* speaks of *Scotish* Ordinations: they may see that if he had explained himself (which he could not foresee would be necessary) his words, where he speaks of *Scots* that Ordained, were to be understood of no other Ordainers but Bishops. And for such as were Ordained Bishops by them, it appears what kind of Bishops they were, by that Power which they received and exercised. For thus he

(i) *Ibid.* p. 223. (i) saith. When *Cedd* had received the

the Degree of Episcopacy, he re-
turn'd to his Province, where (k) *(k) Bed. hist. III.*
at London he had his See; and *26. p. 239.*
fulfilling the work he had begun, with
greater Authority (greater than
what he had before when he was a
Presbyter onely; for, as it follows,
he did now what he could not doe
before) (l) *he made Churches in* (l) *Ibid. p. 223.*
several places, he Ordained Priests
and Deacons to help him in the Word
of Faith, and in the Ministry of Bap-
tizing. For that Ministry of the
Word and Sacraments, Priests and
Deacons might suffice, though not
for the before mention'd Ministry
of ordination. Farther, (m) *Bede tells* (m) *Ibid. p. 224.*
as, that when one liv'd in unlaw-
full Marriage, and the Bishop could
not hinder him, nor mend him; *he*
Excommunicated him, and Command-
ed all that would hear him, not to
enter into the man's house, or to eat
of his meat: To shew what he means
by saying all that would hear him,
Bede addeth, that the King made
light of this Command, and being
invited, went and dined with the
Excommunicated person; but he
dearly paid for his Dinner, being

Chap. VI. kill'd by him before he went out
 § 6. of the house.

Having shewn that this *Cedd* had a Brother, who was also a Bishop; and having met with a doubt that hath been rais'd upon a passage in *Bede*, which I have quoted concerning his Ordination; to illustrate that passage, I shall speak of this matter more particularly, though it doth not properly belong to my Business. The person that I spoke of was *Chad*, who was Ordained to be Bishop of *Tork*; but left it to *Wilfrid*, and was afterwards (*n*) Bishop of *Lichfield*, where he was more famously known by being the Founder of that See. *Bede* (*o*) saith of this *Chad*, that when King *Oswe* had designed him to be Bishop of *Tork*, he went first into *Kent*, to be Ordain'd by *Deusdedit* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But finding that he was dead before his coming thither, he went to *Wini*, who was then Bishop of *Winchester*. And that *Wini* Consecrated him Bishop, taking in two British Bishops to assist him in the Ordination; which British Bishops kept Easter, not according

(*n*) *Bed. hist. IV.*
 3. P. 261.

(*o*) *Bed. hist. III.*
 28. P. 247.

were properly Bishops.

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ing to the Canonical Manner, from the fourteenth to the one and twentieth Moon, for except that Wini there was not then any Bishop Canonically Ordained in all Britain. Here Bede saith that Chad was made Bishop by three of the same Order; namely one Saxon Bishop that had been Ordained in France, and two British Bishops whom he got to assist him. This was while the British Church was not in Communion with the Roman, and therefore I might have * produced * Chap. III, it as an instance of the British way § 7. & 9. of Church Government and Ordination. But I did not take all the Instances I could find, but as many as I thought were sufficient. They that * oppose the Primitive † Chap. VII. Government by Bishops with that § 1, &c. Monkish Dream of Kelledees or Culdees being more to seek for Proofs than I am, (p) have hoped (p) Selden Præf. ante X. Scriptores hist. Angl. to doe some service to their Cause with the last words of this Quotation: As if, because the Scottish Bishops are said to have been Ordained not Canonically, therefore it must be thought that they were Or-

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Ordained by onely Presbyters. Indeed if they had been so, that had been *Uncanonical* beyond all example.

§ 7. But then what were those *British* Bishops whom *Wini* call'd in to assist him at this Ordination? were they uncanonical upon the same account of their being Ordained by onely Presbyters? was the *British* Church-Government by *Culdees* too? that is news concerning which the Prophet *Hector* had no Revelation. Or was the *Saxon* Bishop of *Dunwich*, who was then living, and (for ought that appears) then in *Britain*, Ordain'd by onely Presbyters, and therefore Ordain'd not Canonically? Perhaps he was not thought of by them that made this Allegation: and therefore I shew that he was then living, and that he had been Ordain'd by an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and yet he was not Ordain'd Canonically. The consequence is plain. For if the Ordinations of all the Bishops then in *Britain*, except *Wini*, were accounted by *Bede* to be uncanonical; He must mean it

it of the *British* and *Saxon* Bishops, as well as the *Scots*. And therefore it cannot be proved from the place of *Bede*, that the *Scotish* Ordinations were onely by Presbyters, unless the *British* and *Saxon* Ordinations were so too. So that either this place proves too much, or else it makes nothing for their purpose.

§ 8. But to put this matter out of dispute, I shall shew plainly what it was that was accounted uncanonical in all their Ordinations: and what it was that *Bede* intended in this place, which indeed particularly concerned the *British* and *Scotish* Churches.

First then it was accounted an uncanonical Ordination of a Bishop that was made by fewer than three Bishops. It was particularly against the fourth Canon of the first *Nicene* Council; the observation whereof had been often enjoyn'd by other Councils, and it was particularly given in charge by Pope *Gregory* in his Answers to *Austin* the Monk, which (q) *Bede* having brought into his History, might well refer to, in delivering this as both

(q) *Bed. hist. 27.*
P. 85.

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§ 8.

(r) *Usher Relig.*
of *Ireland*, c. 8.
p. 78.

(s) *Bed. hist. III.*
20. p. 217.

(t) *Ibid. IV. 2.*

both his Judgment and *Chad's* also before him. They acknowledging the Pope as the Head of their Communion, might very well judge an Ordination of a Bishop uncanonical, if it were made by fewer Bishops than were required by that Canon. And yet, as (r) appears by sundry instances, the *British* and *Scottish* Bishops were many of them Ordained onely by one Bishop. They might be all so at that time. And whereas, beside *Wini*, there was then but one *Saxon* Bishop; it appears that he was Ordained in like manner. That *Saxon* Bishop was *Brightgils*, surname'd *Boniface*, Bishop of the *East Angles*, whose See was at *Domocestre*, or *Dunwich*, from whence it is since removed to *Norwich*. This *Boniface*, being a *Kentish*-man, was (s) Ordained Bishop by *Honorius* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and was Bishop of *Dunwich*, (as (s) *Bede* tells us) seventeen years; then he died about the time of *Theodor's* coming over into *England*, which was (as (t) *Bede* tells us) in the year 669, May 27. But *Chad's* Ordination

ination was soon after the death of Archbishop *Deusdedit*, which was in the year 664, July 28. (as *Bede* also tells us) which was at least four years before the coming of *Theodor*. And therefore *Boniface* was living at the time of *Chad's* Ordination, and was then a Bishop; though in *Chad's*, or *Bede's* judgement, he was not Ordain'd Canonically, as appears by those words, that *not one in all Britain* was so at that time except *Wini*. To judge what the fault was in *Boniface's* Ordination, it will not be difficult, if we consider that his Ordainer, Archbishop *Honorius*, had at that time no more but one Bishop under him, that was *Ita*. (x) *Bed. hist. III.* 14. P. 198. *mar* Bishop of *Rocheſter*. So that (without fetching a Bishop out of *France*, which was unusual) he could not have the number preſcrib'd by the Canon to aſſiſt him; and therefore it is moſt probable that in Ordaining of *Boniface* he had no aſſiſtence at all, but did the work ſingly by himſelf; which was againſt the Canons that were then in force in the *Saxon Church*.

But

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§ 9.

(y) *Bed. hist. III.*

7. p. 177.

But for *Wini*, (y) *Bede* tells us, he was Ordain'd in *France*, where were Bishops enough to Ordain him according to the Canon: and there is no reason to doubt that they observed the Canons in his Ordination.

§ 9. But that which more particularly concerns the case in *Bede*, and the matter before us, is the irregularity of Ordination by Bishops that were in Schism. That was provided against by the eighth Canon of the first *Nicene Council*; which was particularly applied to the *British* and *Scotish* Bishops by Archbishop *Theodor* in the eighthieth of his *Capitula*, in (z) these words, *They which have been Ordained by the Bishops of the Scots, or Britans, who are not united to the Catholick Church in their Easter and their Tonsure, let them be Confirmed again by a Catholick Bishop with Imposition of Hands.* *Bede* might well have this Canon in his eye when he writ this, being led to it by the great veneration that he had for that Archbishop; and it appears that he thought of it by the

(z) *Concil. Tom. VI. Col. 1877.**Edit. Labb. Qui**Ordinati sunt à**Scotorum aut**Britonum Episco-**pis, qui in Pascha**& in Tonsura**adunati Ecclesie**Catholicæ non**sunt, iterum ab**Episcopo Catholico**manus impositione**confirmantur.*

were properly Bishops.

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the (b) consequence of his Writing (b) *Bed. hist.*
in the place before-mentioned, if III. 28. p. 247.
the word F O R have any respect
to that which went immediately
before it. It farther appears by (c) (c) *Ibid. IV. 2.*
that passage in his History, where P. 259.
speaking of the Archiepiscopal Vi-
sitation of *Theodor*, (who being
made Archbishop by the Pope,
was sure to take all advantage a-
gainst them that were not in his
Communion;) *Bede* saith, that
this *Theodor*, coming to *Chad*, *Non fuisse ritè*
told him, that he was *not rightly Consecratum.*
Consecrated, I suppose, because
British Bishops had a hand in his
Consecration; and yet, being un-
willing to let him lay down his
Bishoprick, (d) he *anew Consum-* (d) *Bed. hist.*
mated his Ordination the Catholick IV. 2. p. 260.
way. What was that way of Con-
firming his Ordination? It was
(saith *Bede*) by *Imposition of Hands*
by a *Catholick Bishop*. Which was
the same way that he prescribed, as
 hath been shewn out of his *Capi-*
tula, and the same that was ordered
by the *Nicene Canon* above-men-
tioned.

But

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§ 10.

(e) Bed. hist.
IV. 2. p. 259.
mentions this
Heddi.

(f) *Steph. Hedd.*
in vita Wilfrid.
c. 12.

(g) *Quod aut*
XIV. anni sunt,
ut Britones &
Scoti, ab illis
sunt Ordinati.

Thus the MS
Copy in that
noble Library of
Sir J. Cotton, and
out of it Bishop
Usher, in his Re-
ligion of Ireland.
I wonder that

most learned man did not hit on the true reading, *Quod aut Quarta-*
decimani sunt, ut Britones & Scoti, aut ab illis sunt Ordinati.

But to put this matter quite out of doubt, I shall set down the same things as they are related by (e) *Stephen Heddius*, who was Chaplain to *Wilfrid*, and writ an account of his Life. He saith, that after *Colman's* departure, the Kings of *Northumbria* would have *Wilfrid* be their Bishop in his stead. So *Wilfrid* being Elected into the place, desir'd the Kings to give him leave to go into *France* for his Ordination. His words (f) were these, *It is to be considered how I may come to the Episcopal degree without the offence of any Catholick man: For there are here in Britain many Bishops, of whom I would not accuse any one; though in truth I know (g) that they are either Quartadecimani, as the Britans and Scots, or they are such as have been Ordained by them, and that the Apostolick See hath neither received them into Communion, nor them that consent to Schismaticks.* (Here is a plain reason why *Bede* said, except that

were properly Bishops.

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Wini there was not then any Bishop canonically ordain'd in all Britain; Wilfrid had said the same thing before him in other words;) and therefore (saith he) *I desire you to send me into France, where there live many Catholick Bishops, that I may be made Bishop without any offence of the Apostolick See.* Upon this he had leave, and so went into France. But when he did not return so soon as was expected, King Oswin let another intrude into his See, (b) *Being thereunto moved* (b) Ib. c. 14. *Ab his qui Quartadecimanam partem contra Apostolica Sedis Regulam sibi elegerunt.* by them who sided with the Quartadecimani against the rule of the Apostolick See: And they ordain'd the Servant of God Ceadda, a most religious and admirable Doctour that came out of Ireland, and without Wilfrid's knowledge they put him into the Episcopal See of the City of York, unlearnedly and against the Canons. After this Heddius tells how Wilfrid (having been ordain'd in France) came and liv'd three years at Ripon: And how after those three years Theodor Archbishop of Canterbury came thither to York in Visitation, bringing with him

K

him

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§ 10.

(i) Ib. c. 15. *Rem contra Canones malè gestam à veris testibus audivit.*

(k) Ib. *Tunc peccatum Ordinandi à Quartadecimanis in sedem alterius plenè intelligens.*

him the Statutes of the Apostolick See, from which he was sent. And at his first coming into that Countrey, (saith (i) *Heddius*) he was informed by true Witnesses of a thing that was ill done against the Canons; that a Bishop Robber-like had presum'd to catch up the See of another Bishop: (Here was another Uncanonicalness which was particularly in *Chad's* Ordination, that he intruded into a See, into which another had been elected;) and *Theodor*, taking it hainously, ordered Bishop *Ceadda* to be depos'd from the See which was not his. But (saith (k) *Heddius*) the true and most meek Servant of God, then fully understanding his sin, both in his Misordination, being ordain'd by *Quartadecimani*, and in his intrusion into another man's See, humbly confessed, and made amends, according to the judgment of the Bishops; and with his consent put in Bishop *Wilfrid* into his own See of the City of *Tork*; and afterward *Wilfrid* got *Lichfield* for him. Thus far *Heddius*. Out of whose relation the Reader may easily

were properly Bishops.

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fily see what the *Uncanonicalness* was that *Bede* speaks of; and what need there was of a good imagination to find out any tolerable colour for *Presbyterian* Ordination in his Writings.

§ 11. There is evidence enough on the contrary, that these *Scotish* Ordinations were by Bishops. I have shewn that in some places we are told so expresly; where 'tis * said, that such and such were ordain'd by the *Metropolitan Bishop*, together with *other Bishops* that were called for the *Ministry of Ordination*. I have † shewn that those are to explain other places, where we reade of *Scots ordaining*, without expres mention of their Office or Quality. I have shewn that *Bede* uses those very words where he speaks of *Episcopal Ordination*.

* § 5

† § 4

The clearing of this not onely proves what we affirm, but takes away all *occasion* from the Adversary. For they that write on the other hand sufficiently shew that it is from those words, of *Scots ordaining*, that they have all the colour that they pretend from Anti-

K 2

quity

Chap. VI.

§ II.

quity to prove that ever there was in these Churches an *Ordination by Presbyters onely*.

And that these whom I have mentioned, were not onely *called Bishops*, but were really such as are settled now by *Law* in these Churches, I have shewn by their doing those Acts which they never did before they were made Bishops, and which no man hath yet shewn (or I believe can shew) have been done by any mere Presbyter: namely, their forming Churches, their ordaining of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, their exercising an authority over the inferiour Clergy, their excommunicating of Offenders, their commanding obedience to their Censures. I have shewn that all these Powers were exercised by those Bishops that were of *Scotish Ordination*. And I am well assured there can be no instance given of the like things perform'd in these Churches by any that were not really Bishops. So that, for ought that appears hitherto, I have proved that which I undertook; namely that the Ancient
and

were properly Bishops.

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and primitive Bishops were no other than such as are now establisht by Law in these Kingdoms.

C H A P. VII.

A Confutation of that Opinion, that before there were Bishops in Scotland, that Church was governed by a sort of Monks, called Cul-dees, that were onely Presbyters.

§ 1. **H**AVING given as full an account of the Ancient Government of these Churches as I could gather out of the Writers that liv'd in those Times, I should not need to add any thing more, if it were not for that Monkish dream of an ancient Church-Government in *Scotland* by *Presbyters*. This conceit, I suppose, might proceed from a mistake of a passage or two in *Bede*; whereof one hath been * consider'd, the other I shall give * Ch. IV. § 2.
account of afterwards. The first *Au-* P. 84.
thour of it was one that was much *(I)* *Scoti-Chron.*
given to such things, *John* of *For-* endeth Anno
don, who lived in the fourteenth 1360. saith *Sel-*
Century, and then writ the *(I)* *Scoti-* den, præf. ad
10. Script.
§ 19, 20.
ti-Chro-

Chap. VII. *ti-Chronicon* ; a Book that hath not
 § 1. been thought worth the printing.

(m) Major, Boethius, Lesley, Buchanan, Demster, &c.

Out of two or three lines of this Book there hath been a formal story made up by (m) others, which hath been of great use to them that write against Episcopacy, and especially of late to Mr. *Baxter*, who hath taken occasion from hence to affirm as undoubted Truth divers things that never were in the World.

1. He tells us of a sort of men called *Culdees*, that *first guided the affairs of Religion in Scotland long before the coming of Palladius* ; and yet were no *Bishops*, but *Monks and Presbyters*.

2. He tells us, that these *Culdees* chose some few among themselves to be as *Governours to the rest*, whom *Writers* called *Scotorum Episcopos*, the *Bishops of the Scots*. (But, by the way, the eldest of these *Writers* was that Monk of *Fordon*, that lived above a thousand years after.)

3. He tells us, that these new-found *Bishops of the Scots* had only the Name of *Bishops*, about which

which he will not contend with us, (a great favour.)

4. He says, that afterward *Palladius* began a higher sort of Bishops, but the Culdees still kept up the greater part against him.

5. He says that *Columbanus* his Monastery in the Isle of Hy restored the Culdees strength; and the Monks out of that Island were the most prevailing Clergy of Scotland; who had no proper Episcopal Ordination, but bare Election and Ordination of Presbyters.

§ 2. To shew what little truth there is in all these late fancies, I think there needs not be said any more than I have said already, and proved out of the most ancient and authentick Writers. From them I have shewn, that before *Palladius* his time there were no Christians in Scotland, nor no Scots there a long while after; that his mission was into Ireland, and not into Scotland; and that we have no assurance that ever he came into either of them; much less that he made any Bishop there, or any Christian: Likewise that *Columba*

Chap. VII. found no *Culdees* at *Hy*, nor no
 § 2. Christians; and that he and his
 Monks, who were the onely Cler-
 gy in that part of *Scotland* where
 he had to doe, knew no other Or-
 dination but Episcopal, and had a
 Bishop among them for that pur-
 pose.

These things being proved out of
 all the Writers that we have of those
 Times, it appears that all those as-
 sertions to the contrary have no
 real foundation, but are in truth,
 and ought to be considered by
 Learned Men, as the figments of
 those idle Brains that brought Ro-
 mances into Church-History.

But because some are not willing
 to be beat out of any Errour, but
 will rather catch up any thing to
 defend it that cometh in their way,
 I shall take the pains for their sakes
 (though I know no need otherwise)
 to search into the bottom of this
 matter. I shall shew,

I. That the *Culdees* are not
 mentioned by any Writer that li-
 ved within five hundred years of
Palladius his time, nor are not said
 to have been in his Age, by any
 that

that lived within a thousand years after him.

2. That Monastery was not yet in the World, much less in this Island, at that time from which they bring down these *Culdees*.

3. That the first Monks in *Scotland* were of no other sort than those in *France*, and other Countries, where the Church was wholly governed by Bishops.

4. That commonly their Monasteries were the Schools and Universities of those Times, where Youth were brought up and fitted to be put into holy Orders; and then being chosen and recommended by their Superiours, were ordained by proper Bishops; whether fetched from abroad, or residing in the Monastery for that purpose.

5. That *Columba* found nothing in *Scotland* to be restored, as they imagine; but began a conversion there, and founded a Monastery to carry it on, where his Monks (as many as took Orders) were ordained by Bishops properly so called, as the Monks were in all other Countries.

Having

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§ 3.

Having proved these five things, which are enough to overthrow all those Fancies, I shall farther explain that place in *Bede*, upon a mistake whereof, I believe, this whole Fabrick was rais'd by late Monkish Historians.

§ 3. First, to shew that there is no truth in all that Scheme of an ancient Church-Government in *Scotland*, which is imagined to have been in a sort of *Presbyters* called *Culdees*; I am to shew what those *Culdees* were, and that they were men of another Age, long after the time of *Palladius*.

What they were, their Name sufficiently sheweth. For they were called *Kelbedei*, or in the old Scotch, *Kyldees*, (as I suppose) from *Cylle*, which signifies a Cell, as well in the *Welsh* or old *British* Tongue, as in the *Scotish* or *Irish*. From hence by (n) addition of *Tee* (or *Dee* in composition) which signifies a House, the word *Kyldee* signifies a House of such Cells. And thus as *Columba* was called by the *Irish* (o) *Columbcylle*; that is *Columb* of the Cell; so all those that lived

(n) As *Mynach* being a Monk, *Mynachdee* is a Monastery, in the *Welsh* Language.

(o) *Bed. hist. v. 10. p. 402.*

lived in such kind of Houses might be, and I doubt not were, called by their Names with the addition of *Kyldee*, that is, such a one of the Cell-house.

As for the word *Culdee*, it is of a much later Edition. I do not remember that I have read it in any Authour before the time of *Giraldus Cambrensis*. Then it was a very usual thing to find out Latin derivations for those words of which men did not know the Original. And thus the *Kyldees* or *Kyldeidei* came to be called *Culdei* or *Colidei*; that is, the Worshippers of God; being such as spent their whole time, or a great part of it, in devotion. Either way it appears that they were Monks, and what I know will be easily granted me.

But then the Question is, concerning their Antiquity. And for this, we must not look so high as any Writer I have mentioned in my History of Bishops. My latest Authours were *Bede* and *Ninnius*. But *Bede* writ in the year 730. and *Selden*, who is (for ought I know) the first

Chap. VII. first that brought this instance of
 § 3. the *Culdees* into this Controversie, yet acknowledgeth that in *Bede* there is no mention of them. Nor are they mentioned in *Ninnius*, who writ about 120 years after. I should add they are not mentioned for some hundreds of years after *Bede*: but because I may be mistaken, I shall name all those places where I find they are mentioned by any Writer till within these 200 years.

First in *Scotland* we reade of no *Culdees* that ever were at *Hy*, or in any other place where the *Scots* anciently dwelt. But as oft as they are mention'd, we find them still at *St. Andrews*, which was in the Countrey of the *South-Picts*; and they are not said to have been there, till it had been many years the See of a Diocesan Bishop. The See was removed hither from *Abernethy*, as the (p) *Scotish* Historians tell us, by *Kenneth II.* who died in the year 854.

About a hundred years after this, namely in the year 943. *Constantine* the Third, King of the
Scots

(p) *Buchanan.*
Rerum Scotic.
 lib. 6. fol. 60.
 l. 20.

Scots in Scotland, (q) is said to have (q) *Uffer. prim.*
 left his Kingdom, and become Ab. p. 659. from
 bat of the *Kildees*, or *Killidees* of the *Scotish*
Chron.
St. Andrews.

In the year 1108. *Turgot*, Prior
 of *Durham*, was made Bishop of
St. Andrews, and continued seven
 years. In his days all the right of
 the *Keledei* throughout the whole
 Kingdom of Scotland past into the
 Bishoprick of Saint Andrews. This
 is taken by (r) Mr. *Selden* out of (r) *Præf. ad*
Durham History, which he saith, is *10. Scriptores.*
 much later than *Turgot's* time. But *Uffer. de prim.*
 p. 1032.

whereas Mr. *Selden* fancies strange
 things of that *Right of the Keldees*
 here mention'd, I guess it might
 be the right of confirming the Elec-
 tions of all the Bishops in Scotland.
 This had been done by them as be-
 ing the Primat's Dean and Chap-
 lan; but was now taken from
 them, and perform'd by the Pri-
 mate himself. For this Interpreta-
 tion, I think there is ground e-
 nough in the account that (s) a (s) *Uffer. de*
Culdee of *St. Andrew's* has given of *prim. p. 651.*
 the Foundation of his Church;
 where he says, that the Archbi-
 shoprick of all Scotland belongs to
 that

Chap. VII. that City, and that no Bishop in
 § 3. *Scotland* ought to be ordain'd without the counsel of the Seniors of that place. But this by the way.

Usser. de prim.
p. 659.

In the year 1272. the *Keldees* of *St. Andrews* are mentioned by *Silegrave* in his Catalogue of the Religious Houses in *Britain*.

Usser. Ib.

In the year 1297. *November* the third, the Canons of *St. Andrews* elected *William Lamberton* Bishop; the *Keldees* there opposed the Election, and their Provost *Aulmin* appeal'd to the Pope: But the Pope approved the Election, and so for the future the *Keldees* lost all their right they had before, saith our Authour, meaning (I suppose) all their right of electing the Archbishop, which belonging to them before, as being the Dean and Chapter of that See, (as the Abbats and Monks of *St. Austin's* were at *Canterbury*,) after this, in their place at *St. Andrews* there were brought in Canon Regulars, to whose Prior was given the honour of preceding all the Abbats of *Scotland*, that is, as I take it, they were made the Primat's Dean and Chapter

in Scotland by Culdees.

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Chapter for the future. This is all the credible account that I can find of any *Culdees* in Scotland.

In *Ireland* we reade of *Culdees* at *Armagh*, who seem in like manner to have been anciently the Dean and Chapter of that Church: But afterward they also were fain to give place to Monks of a later institution, and yet were suffered to continue in the inferiour quality of Vicars Choral. So Bishop (t) *Usher* saith, the Vicars Choral (t) *Usher*. prim. of *Armagh*, (and the like in the P. 637. [Collegiat] Church of *Cluanynish* were called *Colidei* till our remembrance; and their Chief, who was called their *Prior*, serv'd in the place of *Præcentor*. Bishop (u) *Usher* also produces a Sentence (u) *Usher*. Ib. that was past by an Archbishop of *Armagh*, in the year 1445. and that (as it is said in the Sentence it self,) upon search of the ancient Chronologies of the holy Fathers, and of the Year-books of the Archbishops his Predecessours; that the Office of a *Prior*, or an inferiour *Colidee*, should not be accounted a Cure

Chap. VII. Cure of Souls ; but that one might
 § 3. hold any Benefice with one of these
 Offices, provided that he kept his
 due residence in the Church of *Ar-*
magh.

* *Usser. de pri-*
mord. p. 637.

Bishop * *Usser* hath also a Pope's
Breve that past in the year 1447.
 containing, that the Priory of the
 College of Secular Priests, called
Colidei, was not a Benefice, but a
 simple office, and *Sine-cure*.

† *Girald. Itin.*
Cambr. II. 6.

|| *Id. Topogr.*
Hibern. II. 4.

Besides these we reade of no o-
 ther *Culdees*, but those mentioned
 by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who lived
 about the year 1200. He † speaks
 of the *Colidei* in *Bardsey*, a little
 Island in *North-Wales*, who were
 the most religious old Monks in
 his Age ; and also || speaks of the
 like in an Island in *Tiperary* in *Ire-*
land, who there devoutly serv'd in
 the Chapel.

These are all the Writers in
 whom we have any mention of
 the *Culdees* ; and this is all that I
 can find of them in any Authour,
 before the year of *Christ* 1500.
 that is, till about a thousand years
 after the death of *Palladius*. And
 as none of these Authours makes
 them

them live near his time, much less (as some would have it) long before his coming into *Scotland*: So neither does any of them speak of their guiding the affairs of Religion, either there, or in those other Countries where they lived. If they did, we might expect it would have been rather in *Ireland* than anywhere else; for there they made the greatest figure; but there is nothing said of their governing there by any of these Authours. So that hitherto we have nothing to prove either their Antiquity or their Authority in the Church.

§ 4. But they that assert these things of the *Culdees* have Authours no doubt for as much as they tell us concerning them. They have Authours indeed for as much as concerns our Question, but they are such kind of Authours as are less to be believed than they themselves. For who would not take Mr. *Selden's* bare word for things that past in ancient times, before all them that he quotes in any place where he writes on this subject? They were near as late Wri-

L

ters

Chap. VII.

§ 4.

ters as himself, and knew less of the Ancients than he did. I may reasonably say he knew four Books to one that they knew. And he knew this so well, that he would never have stoopt to such Authours, but that in all his reading, he had no other to defend a Cause that he was resolv'd to maintain. Mr. *Selden* very well knew that in this learned Age no wise Man will believe any thing of ancient Times, but what he sees proved out of very good Authours. For want of such, he took the Monk of *Fordon*, and such others, which though they were of no Authority, yet for the Cause that he had undertaken they were the best that could be had.

But his Authours, for their parts, were Men that had no such awe upon them. They were secured against their Readers by the gross darkness, in which they lived; and therefore, without the assistance of Books, they could tell of any thing that past a hundred years before they were born, as well as if it had happen'd within their own know-

knowledge. If that was a happiness of theirs, that they could so easily impose on their Readers, much good may it doe them that have Readers that will be satisfied with any thing that cometh from such Authours.

To consider them particularly, I am to begin with *John of Fordon* before-mention'd; whom, till I see an ancients Authour, I shall take to be the first that mentions any Church-Government in *Scotland*, before Episcopacy.

This dreaming Monk among other strange things, was pleas'd to discover this, (for the honour of his Order no doubt) that (x) *before the coming of Palladius, the Scots were taught and governed by Monks or Priests onely, therein following the way of the Primitive Church.* For making the Scots to have been Christians before the coming of *Palladius*, he might have some kind of colour from those words of *Bede* before-mention'd, where he saith that *Palladius was sent to the Scots that believed in Christ.* It appears that he

(x) *Scotichroni*
III. 8.

Chap. VII. understood from those words of
 § 4. *Bede*, that before the coming of
Palladius into *Scotland*, there were
 some of that Nation that were
 Christians, though not the body of
 the Nation. And that these Chri-
 stians were taught and govern'd by
 Monks or Priests onely, and that
 this was the way of the Primitive
 Church.

These things might be true, for
 ought any man knew that under-
 stood so little of Antiquity as they
 did that liv'd in those days. Nay,
 who could tell then but that the
Scots were seated in this Island long
 before *Christ's* time? though now
 we know there were none till some
 Ages after the death of *Palladius*.
 But then the contrary was believ'd,
 as appears from that Monkish His-
 torian.

Therefore it is not strange to find
 the same thing said again by *John*
Major the *Sorbonist*. For he also
 (y) saith, *before the coming of Palla-*
dus hither, the Scots were taught
by Priests and Monks without Bi-
shops. By saying *hither* he meant
 into *Scotland*; where as yet there
 were

(y) *Major*, hist.
 Scot. II. 2.

were no *Scots* inhabiting, and whether *Palladius* was not sent, and 'tis a chance if ever he came thither. But what was all this to *Fordon*, or *Major*? One writ what came in his head, and for ought the other could tell, it might be true.

But then next comes *Hector Boethius*, who not onely avers the same thing that those Authours had said, without naming them; but like *Hector* himself, he ventures farther into the dark, and charges beyond all his company. He was the first (for ought I know) that found that these Priests and Monks were *Culdees*, whom he makes to have been there in *Scotland*, above 150 years before there were Christians in that Countrey. These are his words, by which Learned Men will soon judge of his Authority; speaking of the times of *Decius*, and *Aurelian*, the persecuting Emperours, (z) saith he, *our People began at that time* (that is about the year 263. saith (a) *Blondel*,) *most studiously to embrace the Doctrine of Christ* (which was there at that time for ought he knew) *and this*

(z) *Hect. Boeth.*
Scot. hist. l. 6.
fol. 95. l. 39. &c.
(a) *Blond. Apol.*
pro Hieron.
p. 315.

Chap. VII. *they did by the conduct and authority of certain Monks, who (because they applied themselves diligently to preaching, and were frequent in Prayers,) were call'd by the Inhabitants Cultores Dei: and that Name took so among the common People (who it seems all understood Latin) that all Priests, till almost our times, were commonly call'd Culdei, that is Cultores Dei, without any distinction.* He goeth on, and tells us more news; which, I think, he was the first that discovered. He saith, *they chose by common Vote among themselves a Chief Priest, who had power in things belonging to God; and he for many years after was call'd, Bishop of the Scots, as (saith he) it is deliver'd in our Annals.* The same thing he (b) *Heft. Ib. l. 7.* saith again in (b) another place, *where he hath all the rest that is quoted from him; that Palladius was the first of all that were in holy Magistracy among the Scots, being created by the Pope; whereas before, by the Votes of the People, Chief Priests were taken out of the Monks and Culdees.* This is all that

(b) *Heft. Ib. l. 7.*
fol. 133. lin. 2.

that I know he saith of this matter .
For the proof that he makes, by
the *Scots Annals* here mention'd,
he can mean no ancients than
those of Arch-deacon *Veremundus*,
for he acknowledges him in his
Preface to be the eldest that he had
seen of the *Scotish* Writers. But
Veremundus liv'd under *Malcolm*
the Third, in times of very gross
ignorance : So that unless he could
see the farther for being so much in
the dark, he could tell us little of
things 800 years before his time.

The best is, that *Hector* had no
need of his, or any other Testimo-
ny : for he could not onely make
Stories, but Authours too when he
pleas'd. And why not ? as well
as (c) he could make a Bishop of (c) *Hect. Boeth.*
St. *Alban's* Cloak. It was indeed l. 6.

(d) our *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth* that (d) *Usser. pri-*
first turn'd the Cloak into a Man, mord. p. 151,
and so prepared it for *Hector's* Or- 156, 159, & 641.
dination. The word *Amphibalus*,
which is Latin for a Shag-cloak,
and was used in that sense in the
Legend of St. *Alban*, our *Jeffrey*
had the luck to mistake for a pro-
per Name, and so join'd this *Am-*

Chap. VII. *phibalus* with St. *Alban* as his Fel-

§ 5. low-martyr. Man or Cloak, *Hec-*
tor brings this *Amphibalus* into
Scotland to King *Crathlint*, and

(e) *Vsser*. Ib.

p. 1082.

(f) So likewise
Buchanan. hist.
Scot. fol. 43.
lin. 10.

there ordains it first Bishop (e) of
the Isle of *Man*, and (f) seats his
Culdees there with him; so that
belike they were the Dean and
Chapter to St. *Alban's* Cloak. This
was *Hector's* own invention, unless
any one can find it in *Veremundus*,
whom he is pleased to quote for it.
He tells us this happen'd at the
time when *Constantius*, the Father
of *Constantine*, cruelly persecuted
the Christians in *Britain*; who
never persecuted them in his life,
(g) See before, as (g) all those Writers say that li-
ved with him.

(g) See before,
ch. II. § 1.
p. 49.

§ 5. To prove *Hector Boethius* a
man of no credit is needless, when
so many (h) have done it to my
hand; and therefore I forbear to
shew it in other instances.

(h) See *Voss*. de
hist. *Latinis*.

But of that which he says of
Church-Government in *Scotland*,
by a sort of Monks called *Culdees*
in those early times, (a thing
which Mr. *Selden* was pleased to
vouch, chiefly upon the Authority
of

of this Writer,) as there is no ground for it in any ancients Historian, so it will be sufficiently disproved by shewing that there were no Monks of any sort in that Age in which he places his *Culdees*.

That indeed was it that stuck with *Demster* the Jesuit, one that was as well inclined to believe a Lye, as any man in his time; but this would not go down with him, though he had *Hector's* word for it. He could not believe there were Monks under any of those Emperours. For, saith (i) he, *At (i) Usser. de primord. p. 636.* that time there were yet no Monks in the Western Church, nor there could be none, the Monks Rule being formed long after. And therefore, saith *Demster*, It follows they were all *Canons Regular*: which I would soon grant him, if I were not well assured that, at that time, there were neither *Scots*, nor *Christians* in that Countrey. But if there were no Monks, which he ingenuously confesses, that alone will suffice to prove that what was said of the *Culdees*, was a mere Fable.

Now

Chap. VII.

§ 5.

Now that there were no Monks in that Age, nor long after, for this we have more than *Demster's* Authority. He says, *There were none in the Western Church*; he might have said there were none in the World. For Monkeny began in the Eastern parts, as all the Ancients agree; and even there it was not till the time of *Diocletian's* Persecution. From thence it was long e'er it came over into *Europe*, saith

(k) *Sozom. hist. Eccl. III. 14.*

(l) *Baron. Ann. 340. n. 7.*

(m) Particularly to *Marcella*, saith *Hierom. Ep. 16.*

(k) *Sozomen*. It was first brought to *Rome* by *Athanasius*, saith (l) *Baronius*; that is, *Athanasius* first gave (m) them at *Rome* the relation of *St. Anthony*, and of the other *Egyptian Monks*.

But yet these were not Presbyters, (as the *Culdees* were said to have been) but mere Lay-men, and so were all the Monks of those times. The first that brought Monks into holy Orders in *Europe* (n) was *Eusebius of Vercelles*, as also (o) *Baronius* observes.

(n) *Ambr. lib. 10. Epist. 82.*

(o) *Baron. Anno 328. n. 22.*

From *Italy*, and particularly from *Milan*, it was that (p) *St. Martin* first brought that kind of life into *France*, where he seated himself

(p) *Sulp. Sever. vit. Martini. c. 4.*

himself (q) first near St. *Hilary* Bi- (q) Ib. c. 5.
shop of *Poitiers*, afterward he was
made Bishop of *Tours*, and then he
founded a Monastery about two
miles from that City, saith (r) *Sul-* (r) Ib. c. 7.
pitius Severus, who describes his
form of Monastick life, and (s) saith (s) Ib. Epist.
his Monks increased to that num- ad *Bassulam*.
ber in his life-time, that there were
near two thousand of them at his
Funeral.

From this Plantation of St. *Martin's* in *France*, no doubt it was that
Monkery came over first into these
Islands. We reade indeed of *Pela-*
gius a Lay-monk, that was a *Bri-*
tan, and of his Disciple *Cælestius* a
Scot, (t) (that is an *Irish-man*, for (t) *Usser. de pri-*
there were no *Scots* but what lived mord. p. 210,
in *Ireland* in that Age,) that these 211.
two were together at *Rome*, when
their Heresie began, which appears
to have been about the year of
Christ, 400. Whether they entred
into that course of life at *Rome*, or
whether they took it up in the
way thither, or brought it with
them out of *Britain*, we have no
information. But we reade of no
Monks in these Islands, before the
Saxons

Chap. VII. Saxons came hither, but what were
§ 5. set up by St. *Martin's* Disciples.

There seems to have been one Monastery among the *Britans* in *Canterbury*; for there was in King *Ethelbert's* time, as (u) *Bede* tells us, an old Church that was dedicated to St. *Martin* while the *Romans* were yet living in *Britain*.

(u) *Bed. hist. I.*
26. p. 78.

Among the *South-Picts* there
(x) *Bed. hist. III.* was a (x) Monastery of St. *Martin's*
4. p. 169. at *Whitern*, founded by St. *Ninian*

in honour of that Saint; whom, though I do not believe to have been his Uncle, (which (y) *Hector* saith, I suppose, to make him as near of kin to the Saint as St. *Patrick*,) yet I believe from (z) a better Authority that *Ninian* both saw St. *Martin*, and lived with him, in his travel to *Rome*.

(y) *Heft. Boeth.*
lib. 7.

(z) *Saxon. Chro.*
Ann. 560.

Lastly, among the *Scots* we cannot doubt the first Monks were St. *Martin's* Disciples, when we remember that his Nephew St. *Patrick* was the Apostle of that Nation.

(a) *Uffer. de primord.* p. 833,
834.

Of which *Patrick* we are (a) told that his Uncle gave him the Monks Habit, and Institutes to observe which he devoutly received and con-

continued in them. So *Probus* tells us, in the Life of *St. Patrick*, that he brought the Christian Faith and Monastick life into *Ireland*. From thence (as I have * shewn, * See above and shall farther shew,) *Columba* P. 63. & 98. &c. brought it to the Isle of *Hy*, where (b) among the *Sunday-offices* in his (b) *Adamn. vit. Columb. III. 16.* Monastery, there was wont to be a Prayer in commemoration of *St. Martin*, which I take to be in memory of him as the Founder of their Order. And I am something confirm'd in this opinion, by what I read in (c) *Marianus Scotus*, that (c) *Marian. Scot. Anno 975.* the *Irish Monks* at *Colen*, in his time, made *St. Martin* the Patron of their Monastery.

I have carried the original of these Monks as high as possibly I can, when I fetch their original from *St. Martin*, who died in the year 401. And yet to make them begin so late in these Islands, is enough to shew that all that fabrick of Church-Government by *Culdees*, (who are placed as well before as after that time,) hath no foundation in ancient History.

This

Chap. VII.

§ 6.

§ 6. This will farther appear, if we consider what kind of men those Monks were that first lived in these Islands. If we look into their condition and course of life, it seems in all the Monasteries of these Islands to have been the same that was in the *French* Monasteries, as might be expected from them that came all from the same original.

For their way of life, it was at first design'd for a retirement from the World. In that retirement they spent a great part of their time in Prayer, and Fasting, and spiritual Exercises. The rest of their time they bestowed in such works as were necessary for their subsistence; as namely in dressing their Gardens, in providing their Meat, Drink and Clothes. Afterward they turn'd over this bodily work to those of their own number, that were fit for nothing else; the better sort applying themselves to study, and that especially in the Scriptures. Thus Monasteries came to be the Nurseries of Religion and Learning, out of which, as I shall after-

afterwards shew, the Monks were taken into holy Orders by the Bishops, who had those Plantations in, or near, their Episcopal Sees for this purpose.

For their offices of Prayer in these Monasteries, they made use of St. *Martin's* Liturgy; namely, that which was called *Gallorum cursus*; this (d) was used among them every-where in *Britain*. In *Ireland* (e) they had another Liturgy, which was called *Cursus Scotorum*, as Bishop *Usher* (f) tells us from a Manuscript of that Age.

(d) *Usher. Relig. of Irish, c. 4. p. 34.*

(e) *Usher. de primord. p. 343.*

(f) *Usher. Relig. of Irel. p. 31.*

For their Fasting, they observed the yearly time of *Lent*, and also the weekly Fasts of *Wednesday* and *Friday* all the year, except betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsonide*. This was the manner of *Aidan* and his Disciples, as *Bede* particularly (g) informs us, who also gives a short account of all their other bodily and spiritual Exercises.

(g) *Bed. hist. III. 5. &c. 25.*

These instances are enough to shew that the *Scottish* Monks, of whom we are speaking, were like the other Monks in *France*, and in other Episcopal Countries. I do not

Chap. VII. not know wherein there can be
 § 7. shewn any difference between
 them.

§ 7. That these Monasteries were
 the Schools and Universities of those
 times, wherein men were bred up
 to Religion and Learning; this we
 find in many Instances. The most
 remarkable is that of the Monaste-
 ry of *Bangor*, among the *Britans*,
 in which there were, as (b) *Bede*
 tells us, above two thousand Per-
 sons together in seven Colleges, of
 which none had fewer than three
 hundred Monks in it. *This we may*
believe by what we see, faith (i) an
 Historian that writ four hundred
 years after *Bede's* time; *We see*,
 faith he, *so many half-ruined Walls*
of Churches, so many windings of
Porticoes, so great a heap of Ruines
as you shall scarce meet with else-
where. By these accounts it seems
 in its flourishing estate to have been
 not much less than one of our Uni-
 versities at this day.

(b) *Bed. hist. II.*
 2. p. 113.

(i) *Gul. Malmes-*
bur. lib. I. in
Anglicis, p. 9.
 lin. 3.

(k) *Girald.*
Cambr.

In *Ireland* (k) almost all their
 Clergy were elected out of such
 Monasteries. Among these there
 was also a *Bangor*, which seems to
 have

have been a Colony of the other. It seems to have been the more populous of the two, if that be true which (m) we read of *Congal*, who (m) *Warau de Script. Hib.* was Abbat there, (and who died p. 14. in the year 601.) that he had at once three thousand Monks under him. In *Laisrean's* Monastery in *Leghlin*, there were (n) fifteen (n) *Usher's Reliq. of Irish. c. 9.* hundred Monks together; and yet p. 99. there might probably be greater than either of these in that Countrey.

To these *Irish* Monasteries there went many of the (o) first *Saxon* (o) *Bed. hist.* Christians, as well of the Nobility as of the Commonalty, to be III. 27. p. 241. bred up there, and fitted for holy Orders. But when *Oswald*, K. of the *Northumbrians*, had got a Bishop Ordain'd for his Countrey, (that was *Aidan* before-mention'd,) then he also (p) gave Possessions (p) *ib. III. 3.* and Territories for the founding of Monasteries in his Kingdom. In these Monasteries the *English* were trained up in Studies, and the observation of Regular Discipline, first by those *Irish* Monks whom *Aidan* brought with him, and after-

M ward

Chap. VII. ward by those whom they had in-
 § 7. abled to teach others. To one of

(q) Ib. III. 24. these Monasteries *K. Oswy* gave (q)
 p. 231. one hundred and twenty Tene-

(r) Ib. IV. 3. ments. At *Adbaerve* there was (r)
 p. 261. another of fifty Families. At *Rip-*

(s) Ib. III. 25. pon there was (s) another of forty.
 p. 234. We may judge how populous they

*viz: Lands were settled
 which employ'd 40 or 50
 families in the occu-
 -pation.*

were, by comparing these Num-
 bers with the accounts that are
 given us of whole Countries toge-
 ther. For the Isle of *Wight* had (t)

(t) Ib. IV. 16. twelve hundred Families; *Anglesey*
 p. 298. had nine hundred; *Ely* (u) had

(u) Ib. IV. 19. six hundred; the Isle of *Man* had
 p. 309. (x) three hundred Families; as

(x) See before
 c. VI. §. 1.
 p. 114. *Bede* tells us, according to the ac-
 count of them in his age.

When by this Monastick Educa-
 tion any one was made fit to take
 Orders, in the judgment of them
 that were his Superiours in that
 place, then he was to be Ordain-
 ed; but by whom? by his Supe-
 riours in the Monastery? It must
 be so, if they had the power of
 Ordination. And so indeed our
 Adversaries would have it, that
 the Abbat and his Senior Monks
 did Ordain those that were sent
 out

out of their Monastery; and that, not onely into the lower Orders, but into the Order of Bishops, as they shew us in the example of *Aidan*, and his Successours. But this is so far from being true, that I dare challenge our Adversaries to shew any instance, where the Abbat and Monks, without a Bishop among them, Ordained so much as one single Presbyter. I shall shew on the contrary, by many instances, that as it was necessary to have Orders conferred in the Monasteries, (without which there could be no Administration of Sacraments,) so Bishops were held necessary on this very account, that they might confer Orders on those that were judged fit to be Ordained in the Monasteries.

There were indeed in those times, when Religion and Learning were thought to be much advanced by that way of living, such Exemptions granted to the Monks, for their encouragement, that they were in a manner wholly free from Episcopal Jurisdiction. They govern'd all within themselves, and

Chap. VII. kept some kind of Authority over
 § 7. those that were Ordained and sent forth out of their body. This gives colour enough to them that are to seek for Examples in those times for the depressing of the Authority of Bishops. But this will doe them no service, when it appears that, notwithstanding all their Exemptions, those Abbats and Seniours could not Ordain without a Bishop, and that many of them were not in Orders themselves, even those that had Bishops subject to them in their Monasteries.

The most ancient Privileges of this kind, that I have observed in the Western Church, were those that were enjoyed by the *African* Monasteries. They were for one while so exempt, that (y) the Bishop, in whose Diocese they were, had nothing to doe with them, except when they themselves were pleased to make use of his assistance.

(y) Concil. Edit. Labbe. Tom. IV. col. 1649. & 1785. B.

About the year of Christ, 500. we find (z) they might chuse what Bishop they pleased in the Whole Pro-

(z) lb Col. 1646. D. E.

Province, to Ordain, and doe other
 Episcopal Acts in their Monastery.
 It appears * that whomsoever they * Ib.
 chose they were tyed to; he was
 their Bishop as long as he lived;
 but when he died, they were not
 tyed to his Successour; but might
 chuse, either him, or any other
 whom they pleased, for (as they
 pleased in the Council of *Car-*
thage) they were (a) not under (a) Ib.col.1648.
 any Bishop, out of Duty, but out A.
 of Choice, except onely the Arch-
 Bishop of *Carthage*, who was their
 Primate. Afterwards they were
 confined to the Bishop of the Dio-
 cese; so that (b) he, and no other (b) Ib.col.1789.
 when they desired it, might Or- B.
 dain any whom they chose out of
 their number, or might give Con-
 firmation, or might Consecrate a
 new Oratory. And it is expressed
 by what pattern this was done (c) (c) Ib.col.1649.
 that it was in like manner as the A, B.
 Monastery of *Lerin* in *France*
 (now *S. Honorè*) was confin'd to
 the Bishop of the Diocese.

In *France* and *Spain*, how this
 matter was ordered, it appears
 in the Canons of their Councils

Chap. VII. of (d) *Agde*, and (e) *Lerida*. There
 § 7. was none to be Ordain'd in any
 (d) Council. 4- Monastery, but by the Bishop, in
gath. c. 27. whose Diocese it was. But then
 (e) Council. it must be at the desire of the Ab-
Ilerd. c. 3. bat, or at least with his leave, and
 not otherwise. But besides, we
 find that some greater Monasteries
 had Bishops in them of their own;
 who were elected by the Abbat and
 Monks, and were Ordained by the
 adjacent Bishops, to the end that
 they might Preach, and doe Epis-
 copal Offices in their Monasteries.
 Of this kind we have (f) exam-
 (f) *Acta SS.* ples in *S. Martins* near *Tours*, and
Ord. Benedi. the Monastery of *S. Denis* near
Seculo VIII. in. *Paris*, which had such Bishops in
præf. p. XX, them from ancient times; and we
XXI. have an account of their Successi-
 ons for some Ages. The like we
 have of the Bishops that were in
S. Columbs Monastery at *Hy*, of
 (g) *Usser. de pri-* whom (g) there is mention in the
mord. p. 701. *Usser* Annals. So that in either
 case, of exempt, or not exempt
 Monasteries, there were Bishops
 to be had for the Ordaining of
 Monks; and no pretence to have it
 done by the Abbat that was no Bi-
 shop,

shop, though his Leave or Consent was needfull to the Ordination.

He that had been so Ordained in a Monastery (*b*) must still continue a Monk, and live in Obedience to his Abbat, as well after, as before his Ordination. But this Rule I suppose did hold onely in inferiour Orders, and was not obligatory to those Monks that were Ordained Bishops, any longer than while they continued in their Monasteries. For when they were dismiss'd to go to their Bishopricks, they were at their own disposal, to doe what, and go whither they pleased; without which Liberty they could not attend the affairs of their Diocese. There is indeed (*i*) alledg'd to the contrary a Canon of the Synod of *Hartford*, which seems to import otherwise, as it stands in the Collection of Councils. For there the words are, that the *Episcopi Monachi*, the Bishops which are Monks, *should not go from place to place, nor from Monastery to Monastery, unless by the leave of their own Abbat, but they must abide in the obedience they had promised at*

(*b*) P. Innocent. I.
ad Victoricium.
Epist. 2. c. 10.

(*i*) Blondell. A.
pol. pro Hieron.
p. 371.

Chap. VII. *the time of their Conversion.* But
 § 7. this Canon, together with the rest
 (k) *Bed. hist.* of that Synod, are taken out of (k)
 IV. 5. p. 273. *Bede*, as all the Editors acknow-
 ledge. And *Bede* is corrupted in
 that place. For, whereas it is *Epi.*
Monachi in the MS. and *Episcopi* M.
 in the common Editions, it should
 be *Ipi Monachi* in the MS. that
 is *Ipsi Monachi*, as *Wheelock* tells
 us in his *Errata*; and so it is in
 King *Alfred's* Saxon Translation;
Those Monks shall not go from place
to place, &c. The meaning is, that
 Monks, who were under the de-
 gree of being Bishops, should not
 travell abroad, but should live in
 their Monasteries in Obedience to
 their Superiours.

Yet if those that were Ordain'd
 Bishops of any Diocese, should af-
 terwards come to retire in their
 Monasteries as *Coleman* did (c) at
 (l) See before, c. V. §. 7. p. 110.
 * *Bed. hist* IV. 26. p. 346, 347. *Hy* for some time after his leaving
 of *Tork*, and as *Trumwin* did * for
 many years at *Streanshalh* under
Ælfled, that was Abbess there;
 in that case, there is reason to
 believe that they lived under the
 ordinary Government in the Mo-
 nastery,

nastery as they did before they were made Bishops.

As to the Abbats in those times, we find (m) that some of them were Bishops themselves, as *Cedd*, and *Chad* before-mention'd were Abbats of * *Læstingæa*. Some were onely Priests, as (n) *Columba*, and seven of his Successours at *Hy*. Some Abbats were not so much as Priests; but either Deacons, or Sub-deacons; of which we have many instances in (o) those places quoted in the *Margent*. Some Abbats were Laymen; as the *Irish Saranus* (p) above mentioned, *Fullan* that was (q) Abbat at *Cnobheresburgh*, and *Switbert* Abbat (r) of *Docore*. The Seniour Monks likewise, which govern'd under them, and were like the Seniour Fellows of our Colleges, might be (s) such as were not in Orders.

(m) Acta SS. Benediſt. Præf. p. XXII.

XXIII. * Bed. hiſt. III. 23. & V. 20. (n) Uſſer. de pri- mord. p. 701, 702.

(o) Concil. Tom. IV, col. 1642. E. Acta SS. Bene- diſt. in præf. p. lxxxv.

(p) See c. IV. §. 6.

(q) Bed. hiſt. III. 19. (r) lb. IV. 32.

(s) Concil. Tom. IV, col. 1644. D.

And why not? Since even Women were held capable of Govern- ing in those Monasteries where Men and Women lived together. And these Abbesses used the same powers that the Abbats did in o- ther Monasteries. For they E- lected

Chap. VII. lected such of their Monks as they

§ 7. thought fit to be put in Orders; and after they were Ordained, they kept them still under their Government, unless they gave them a Mission to go forth upon the work of the Ministry. Thus (t) *Ebba*

(t) *Bed. hist.*
IV. 25.

Abbess of *Coludesburb* had several Priests in the Monastery. *S. Bridget* Abbess of *Kildare* had divers such in her Monastery, out of whom she Elected *Conlian* to be Bishop there, saith (u) the old Writer of her Life. We have many other instances of this power in Abbesses of those times; but I shall onely mention one more, that of *Hilda*,

(u) *War. de*
Script. Hibern.
I. 2.

(x) great Grandchild to K. *Edwin* whom *Aidan* made Abbess of *Streaneshalh*, and who for her Piety and excellent Discipline is famous in the *Saxon History*. *Bede* (y)

(x) *Bed. hist.*
IV. 23. P. 320.

saith, *She so held her Subjects to the reading of Scripture, and doing works of Righteousness, that many among them were fit to be Churchmen, and to serve at the Altar. So that we afterwards saw five Bishops out of her Monastery, and Tatfrith, a sixth, was Elected Bishop, but*

(y) *Ib. p. 322.*

died

died before he could be Ordain'd. Being so well stored with Learned men as she was, and having such a power over them as she had, it is no wonder that we (2) reade of her being present, *with her Clergy* about her, at the Synod that was held at her Monastery for the deciding of that great Controversie about the right time of keeping *Easter*. She was there, as became a true Disciple of *Aidan's*, to maintain the *Scotish* side against the *Roman* in that Controversie. And therefore, when we reade that she Elected and sent forth Bishops and Priests, though she did not Ordain them, nor could doe it by reason of her Sex, it sufficiently shews us the manner of those *Scotish* Monasteries. The Abbats and Monks, though simple Priests, yea, though Laymen, could Elect, and send forth, as *Hilda* did; but they could not confer holy Orders. That could be done onely by a Bishop; whom therefore they either called from abroad, or they had one residing in the Monastery for that purpose,

(2) *Bed. hist.*
III. 25.

This

Chap. VII. This account of the Ancient
 § 7. Monks, and Especially of those in
 these Islands, being gathered out
 of the Writers of those times; I
 take it to be a sufficient confuta-
 tion of that Modern fiction of a
Scotish Ordination by Presbyters,
 which being formed by Popish
 Monks for the honour of their way,
 has been catched up by some a-
 mongst us to give a colour of An-
 tiquity to their Innovations.

I know not what is more to be
 done, unless one could shew what
 it was that set their Wits on work
 for this Fable.

Perhaps it might be occasioned
 by that passage of *Bede*, in the (a)
 Chapter where he speaks of *Co-*
lumba's coming hither. I shall set
 down his words, that the Reader
 may the better consider it. *Co-*
lumba came into Britain when Bri-
dus Reigned over the Picts---He
by his Word and Example converted
that Nation to the Faith of Christ,
and thereupon he received from
them the aforesaid Island [of Hy]
in possession for the building of a
Monastery; for it is not great, but
contains

(2.) *Bed. hist.*
 III. 4. P. 169.

contains about five English miles, which his Successours hold till this day. Before he came into Britain, he had built a noble Monastery in Ireland, which is called Dearthmarch in the Scottish Language. [By the Scottish here, it is plain that Bede means the Irish.] He adds, that from both these Monasteries [of Dearthmarch, and of Hy] there were afterwards prapogated by his Disciples very many other Monasteries both in Britain and in Ireland, [that is North Ireland, and the Picts Countrey] among all which the Island-Monastery [at Hy] where his body rests, is the principal. [So elsewhere he shews that other Monasteries were subject to it.] He goes on concerning Hy, But that Island is ever wont to have for its Governour an Abbat in Priests Orders, to whose right both all the Province, and also the very Bishops in an unusual order ought to be subject, according to the example of the first Teacher [Columba] who was not a Bishop, but a Monk in Priests Orders.

From

Chap. VII.

§ 7.

(b) *Saxon.*
Chron. Ann.
DLX.

From these words of *Bede*, not rightly understood, I suppose, it was that this following Note was inserted into the latter Copies of the (b) *Saxon Chronicle*; *Columba Priest came to the Picts, and Converted them to the Christian Faith, who at that time dwelt in the North-Moores, and their King gave him the Island which is named Hy, wherein there are five hides of Land. There it is said that Columba built a Monastery. The place has yet his Heirs. There ought to be ever in Hy an Abbat and not a Bishop, and all the Bishops of the Scots ought to be under him, because that Columba was Abbat and not Bishop.*

These words of the *Saxon Chronicle*, Anno 560. were all put in by a later hand. For the old *Saxon Chronicle* has nothing of *Columba* in that year. Nor has *Ethelward*, nor *Florence of Worcester*, who almost transcribed the old *Chronicle*.

(c) *Sax. Chron.*
Ann. DLXV.

But in the year 565. (c) it has these words, *Here Columba, Priest of the Scots, came into Britain, to teach the Picts, and they built him a Monastery*

nastery in an Island. This is all that was Anciently in the Book, and all that both those Historians have transcribed. Afterwards those other words before-mentioned, were inserted in another year of the Chronicle. And it seems they came in late, by what is said concerning the *Picts*, that they dwelt at that time in the North-Moores. It seems the Addition was made some time after the year 850. for it was about that year that the *Picts* were conquered by the *Scots*, and till then they continued in their old habitation. Perhaps the addition was made after *Ethelward* and *Marianus*, whom *Florence* transcribed, had writ their Histories. At least it had not got into the Copies that they used, nor is it in the ancienter Copies at this day.

I shew the lateness of this Addition to the *Saxon* Chronicle, to make it appear, that he that inserted it, knew nothing of those times, but what he had out of *Bede's* History; and that therefore no great use can be made of his Authority either way. Yet I set down his

Chap. VII. his words, to shew whence it was,

§ 7. probably, that the Fable was taken by *John of Fordon*, and his followers, of Monks in Priests Orders, governing the Church in *Scotland*, and of those governing Monks, being called *the Bishops of the Scots*.

But to shew that there is no ground for it from *Bede's* words, I shall now consider them again, and make *Bede* himself his own interpreter. He saith, the Isle of *Hy*, which was given to *Columba* in possession, and on which he built his Monastery, is ever since governed by the Abbats his Successors. He saith that *all* the Province, and also the very Bishops, in an unusual order, ought to be subject to this Abbat. The main difficulty is, to know of what Province he saith this. *Hector Boethius* and his followers understand it of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But that which is now call'd *Scotland*, had many Kingdoms in it, in *Bede's* time; and one of them, namely, the Kingdom of the *North-Picts*, in which this Island was contained divers Provinces, as (*d*) *Bede* calls

(t) *Bed. hist.*
V. 22. p. 459.

calls *them*. And he tells us in (e) ^{(e) Bed. hist. III. 4. p. 168.} this very Chapter, that *Columba* came to Preach the Word of God to the *Province* of the North-Picts. And it is familiar with him to call (f) a Bishop's Diocese, by the name of a *Province*. So that, as ^{(f) Bed. hist. V. 24. p. 483; 484.} far as one can judge by his Words, he meant nothing else, but that all the *Province* or Diocese which was under the Bishop of *Hy*, did then belong to the Monastery. And whosoever will have the word *Province* to be understood in any larger extent, must shew it out of some other Authour, that saith it of his own time, or of a time within memory, that *then* there was a larger *Province*, or that there were several *Provinces* subject to that Monastery. But that I am satisfied none can justly pretend to doe. *Bede* (g) saith, there were other ^{(g) Ib. V. 16. p. 433. & V. 23. p. 479.} Monasteries subject to it, as *Cells* used to be to that Convent from which they were derived. But neither he, nor any other Authour, saith it of other *Provinces*, or of a larger than that which I have mentioned.

N

Then

Chap. VII.

§. 7.

Then for the word *Bishops* which *Bede* has in the plural number, and which late *Scotish* Writers extend to all the Bishops in *England*; as they cannot shew that any other, but the Bishop of *Hy*, was ever subject to the Abbat of that place: So neither doth it appear that *Bede* did here intend any other. He speaks onely of one *Province*, or *Diocese* as I have explained it. And that indeed could have but one Bishop at a time. But it might have many successively, and so I understand the place. The Bishop of *Hy* had his Seat at *Sodora* in that Island; and yet might have all the North-*Picts* in his *Diocese*, at first, as the Bishop of *Lindisfarn* had all the *Northumbrians*. And yet afterwards, when the North-*Picts* had more Bishops; he that dwelt there at *Hy* might have onely the Isles to his *Diocese*. I am not confident of that. But whatsoever *Diocese* they had, it is certain that the Bishops that sat there successively, till *Bede's* time, were all subject to the Abbat of that Monastery.

Sodora in the
Isle of *Hy*.

This

This was indeed, as *Bede* calls it, an *unusual* thing. For the manner was otherwise in other places; and especially at the place that was best known to him, that is, at *Lindisfarn* before mention'd. There was both a Bishop's See, and a Monastery in the same City, as *Bede* saith (b) more than once; and so it was probably in all other places that he knew. Therefore he might well say, that for the Bishop to be subject to the Abbat, was *ordine inusitato*, not according to the order that was usual in other places, and at his *Lindisfarn* in particular.

(b) *Bed. hist. IV.*
27. p. 350. &
in vitâ Cutberti,
c. 16.

But at *Hy*, there was a reason for it, which was as unusual as the thing it self. For, whereas in almost all other places there were Bishops before there were Monasteries, and there (i) it was not lawfull to build any Monastery without the leave of the Bishop; here at *Hy*, on the contrary, there was no Christian before *Columba* came thither. And when he was come, and had converted both King and People, (g) gave him the Island

(i) *Concil. Chalcedon. can. 4. & Concil. Agath. c. 27.*

(k) *Bed. hist. III. 5. p. 169.*

Chap. VII. in possession for the building of a
 § 7. Monastery; and withall, for the

(l) *Adamnan.*
vit. Columb.

(m) *Buchan. re-*
rum Scot. fol.
10. lin. 18.

the (l) Royalty of the Neighbour-
 ing Isles; six of which are menti-
 on'd by (m) *Buchanan*, as belonging
 to the Monastery. And therefore,
 though *Columba* found it necessary
 to have a Bishop, and was pleased
 to give him a Seat in his Island;
 and perhaps to put the other Isles
 under his jurisdiction; yet it is
 not strange that he thought fit to
 keep the Royalty still to himself
 and his Successours.

It is no more strange that it
 should be so there, than that it is
 so now in many places; and at
Oxford particularly, where a Bi-
 shop now lives, and is as well
 known to be a Prelate of the *En-*
glish Church as any other; the
 Government is vested in the *Uni-*
versity exclusively of him; and
 not onely the Chancellour and his
 Deputy have precedence of the
 Bishop; but every private Scholar
 is exempt from his cognisance and
 jurisdiction: Yet notwithstanding
 this, if any one thus privileg'd;
 hap-

happen to have a Parochial cure, whether it be in the Diocese or University it self, they become subject to the Bishop as others are; and if any Episcopal act be to be perform'd, whether it be the Consecration of the Chapel of any College or Hall in the University; or Holy Orders, or Confirmation be to be receiv'd by a private Scholar; recourse is had unto the Bishop; and in case of Ordination, the Person Ordain'd makes the same recognition with others, that *he will reverently obey his Ordinary.* So that we see here the Chancellour and Scholars have the same Authority by their Charter, that K. *Bridius* gave to *Columba* and his Monks, onely it does not extend through the whole Diocese; but is limited according to the pleasure of our Kings, who might have extended it as far as they pleas'd; and yet a farther extent of this Liberty, though it had been such an abridgment of the Episcopal Power, as never was known till Monkery came into the Church, yet had not been a suppressing of

Chap. VII. the Order, which is the thing our

§ 7. Adversaries drive at. How justly they of all men inveigh against Monkeny, that borrow their patterns from their Innovations, and where those will not reach, piece them out with their Fables, and do as it were endeavour to restore it, by their darkening the Church History, to destroy the Government of it: These things I leave to the Readers consideration.

F I N I S.
